Domestic economy and social organization in New Halos

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Chapter 3: Analysis of the Architecture

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the results of the analysis of the architecture of the houses excavated at Halos. I have argued in chapter 1 that I view the built form as ultimately linked to 'culture' and that the examination of the form domestic space takes, the setting in which it is built and the activities performed in it can inform us about social and economic practice and lifestyles of the inhabitants. In the same chapter we have also seen that house form and domestic activities are not independent notions. Built environments influence social order both instrumentally and through communicative situations,[1] while on the other hand the form the built environment takes is determined by cultural conventions. Behaviour and the built environment exist in a dialectic and the input of both spectra of this dialectic is flexible. It is tempting to view domestic space and the built form as a fixed entity because the use of solid architectural elements in some sense encloses and directs behaviour and movement.[2] We have, however, to accept that the built form is, in practice, not fixed. Houses are laid out in various forms, with single floors or multiple floors, with few rooms or many, with few embellishments or several. In addition, buildings can change over time when the need arises; they can be enlarged, split up in smaller elements and the rate in which they change is socially and culturally determined.[3]

In this chapter I will take the theoretical outlook I have taken in Chapter 1 to a more practical level. I will employ a number of specific methods in the analysis of the built form which I use to examine both similarities and variation in the architectural layout of the houses and if and how notions of equalities and inequalities are expressed in architecture. Articulation of space in the form of mosaics, wall painting, peristyles is one way of creating 'distinction' and we have already seen in chapter 2 that the Halians did not use that vocabulary. We therefore need to look for other clues: do we see commensality in the construction and maintenance of houses, do we witness regular patterns of exclusion and avoidance in the layout of houses; do we see regularity or deviations in room numbers and sizes, do we observe congruent patterns in circulation; does house size really matter? The final question we should answer is how far the analysis of architecture *alone* can take us in our quest.

I have employed three particular methods of analysis with regards to the internal spatial organization of the rooms of the houses. First, I will look at the way the walls of houses and housing blocks are bonded. By examining the foundations of both housing blocks and houses one can gain insight in the ways housing blocks were laid out and ways in which parcels were allotted.

Secondly, I will focus on location and size of the various spaces bonded by walls of which the houses are comprised. With this kind of analysis I examine a possible standardization of houses in order to assess whether the houses were included in the planning of the city as a whole or whether individual members of the community were able to wield some influence on the ways their houses were built.

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1 This notion is stressed in many archaeological (and anthropological) studies on domestic space that have appeared over the last twenty years of which the following list is only a selection: Kent 1990; Rappoport 1990, 11; Gilchist, R. and H. Mytum, *The archaeology of rural monasteries*. (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 203, 1989). Laurence, R., *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society,* (London: Routledge, 1994); Moore, H., *Space, Text, and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Hodder, I., *The domestication of Europe.* (London: Wiley-Blackwell 1991).

2 Rappoport 1990, 11.

3 Priemus 1969.

The third form of architectural analysis focuses on the accessibility of these various spaces employing the model proposed by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson.[4]
These analyses are in many respects technical discussions but the results need to be put in their historical contexts. They will therefore be accompanied by a contextualization of city planning in the early Hellenistic period.

3.2. Planning New Halos: House and housing block foundations

And again, when a house is being built, supplies of stones are placed all alongside the lines of the foundations. These things are done because (a) water is the material out of which the plants in the garden grow, and (b) stones are the material out of which the foundations are built.
Aristotle, Parts of Animals, III, v (668a).

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the remains of the foundations of the houses of New Halos provide us in most cases with very clear house plans. The exception is the House of the broken Amphorae, which has suffered from harrowing to the extent that the foundations of the northern and central part of the house have virtually disappeared. The harrowing also seemed to have had a clear effect on the distribution of artefacts in this particular house, which I will examine in the following chapter. Also other foundations had suffered from these agricultural activities, but to a lesser extent and the plans of other buildings were suitable for both types of analysis as discussed below. Even though the house of the Geometric Krater was only partially excavated, reconstruction of its plan is quite reliable, due to the comparison with both Houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and Agathon (see below) and therefore this house will also be included in the architectural analysis.
Most foundation stretches in the lower city of New Halos are very comparable in terms of width and construction. The wall foundations were mostly made of semi-worked elongated limestone blocks laid out in two courses. The stones differed in size, with often the one forming part of the 'exterior' course being larger and higher. The width of the foundations ranges from 0.3 - 0.5 m. The exterior foundations, especially the ones forming part of the walls demarcating the housing blocks are indicative of how the housing blocks have been laid out.
The housing blocks themselves were protected by extensive fortifications, consisting of curtains, towers and city gates built of large rectangular worked limestone blocks of the same provenance. The quarries for these blocks have been discovered on the hill of the upper city.[5] With regard to the building history of the city it is important to take the military character of the settlement into account. It seems unlikely that the individual inhabitants of an early Hellenistic city or extended families were solely responsible for building such imposing military installations, although they must have had a role in maintaining them.[6] But how is this with the houses? Was the planning, layout and

[4] Hillier, B. and Hanson, J., *The Social Logic of Space,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
[5] Reinders 1988, 60ff.
[6] There are many indications that individuals contributed to building fortifications. The so-called 'epidosis' decisions, often with large lists of names engraved in stelai, indicate that many citizens contributed financially to the building of city walls: Maier, F.G., *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, II, (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961), 20 and 55ff. Examples of *epidoseis* regarding city walls can be found in Ioulis on Kea 3rd century BCE, Athens 229 BCE and Chios ca 200 BCE. Construction, supervision and maintenance of city walls were a specific task of the *teichopoioi*, which we know from Teos and other cities (Chaniotis, A., *War in the Hellenistic World: a social and cultural history,*

building of the houses and housing blocks a matter of central authorities responsible for re-establishing the city, or of the incoming inhabitants, or both? In order to answer this question we will examine the house foundations and plans themselves and will have a closer look at the historical setting in which the city developed.

3.3 House foundations in New Halos: bonding walls

The Halos archaeological project started with an architectural survey of the city surface which took place in 1976 and 1977. The team surveyed all fields and measured every stretch of wall visible, before the agricultural development of the area would leave hardly any trace.

Especially in housing blocks along Avenue C and in housing block 7.6 many traces of foundations were visible and measurable. The team made drawings on a 1:100 scale of large parts of housing blocks, while in cases where the individual houses were better visible they made more detailed drawings on a 1:40 scale in which all individual stones were drawn in. These drawings thus provide us with extra information on irregularities in the city plan, on plans of unexcavated buildings and on the bonding of partitioning walls of the houses.

Of all the information we have on the bonding of walls is becomes clear that the external foundation, where visible, represents a continuous line with regular intervals for doorways. Nowhere do we see that the external wall of the housing block was bonded with the partitioning walls of the houses themselves, except, perhaps, in the south-western corner of the House of the Amphorae. In general, the preserved external foundations walls consist of large irregular blocks, usually not laid out in two courses, but in one course with stones both laid out lengthwise and with their width determining the width of the wall. This kind of construction method is very similar throughout the town and its contrast with the internal house wall foundations is quite striking.[7] The best information we can find on how foundation walls bond are the three houses excavated next to each other. The houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and of Agathon border on each other and they are sharing one external wall. They connect on their northern side directly to the House of the Snakes. Since the external foundation wall seems to continue as one stretch, it is tempting to assume that the foundations which divide the housing blocks lengthwise continue as well. This is not the case. When looking at the seams between the foundations we can see that the northern wall

(Oxford: Blackwell, 2005) 32; Maier 1961, 42-44) and in free Hellenistic poleis often a building committee was formed including magistrates. The building of city walls was expensive and must have put a strain on the monarch, the city and the individual households. This matter is also noted by Weißl for the construction of the defensive works at New Pleuron in Aetolia. cf. Weißl, M., "Die Befestigung der jüngeren Stadtanlage von Pleuron in Aitolia," *Jahreshefte des Österrreiches Archäologisches Institut* 68 (1999): 105-146. We will discuss the financial consequences of architectural construction and maintenance in a broader context in the final chapter.

[7] We must, however, keep in mind that the preserved row of blocks representing the external foundations is the lowest course, which served as a support for the superstructure. In cases where the second row of blocks has been preserved some walls have a construction with two courses of stones such as the internal wall foundations.

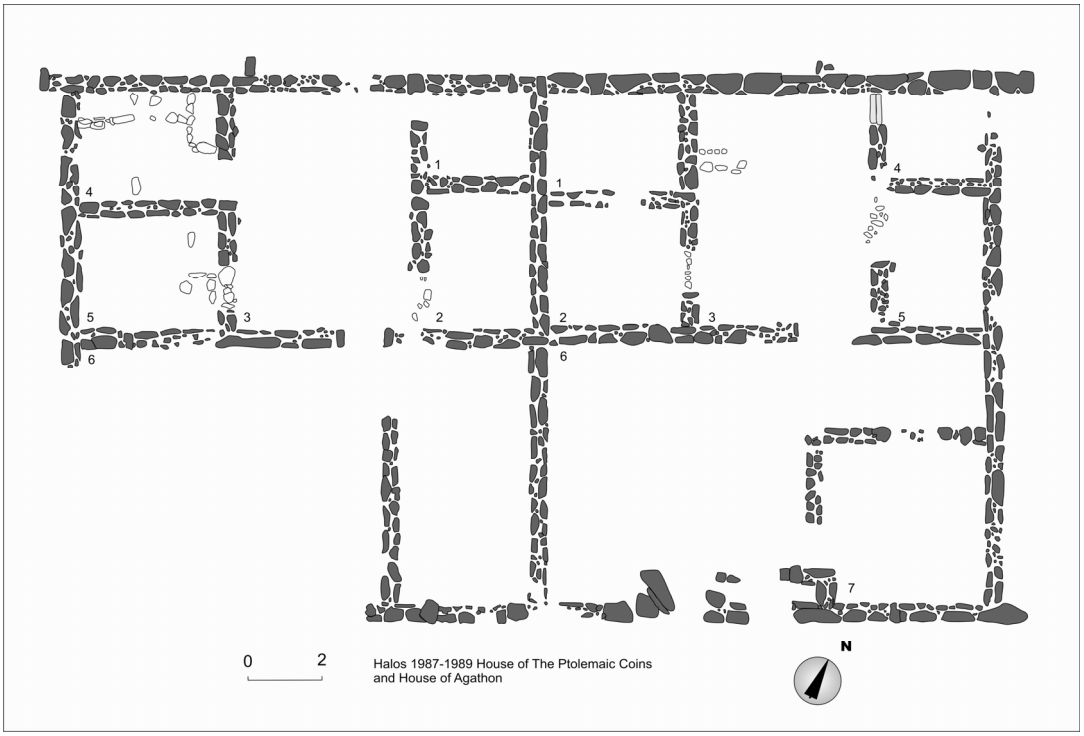

Fig. 3.1. The Houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and Agathon: Foundations.

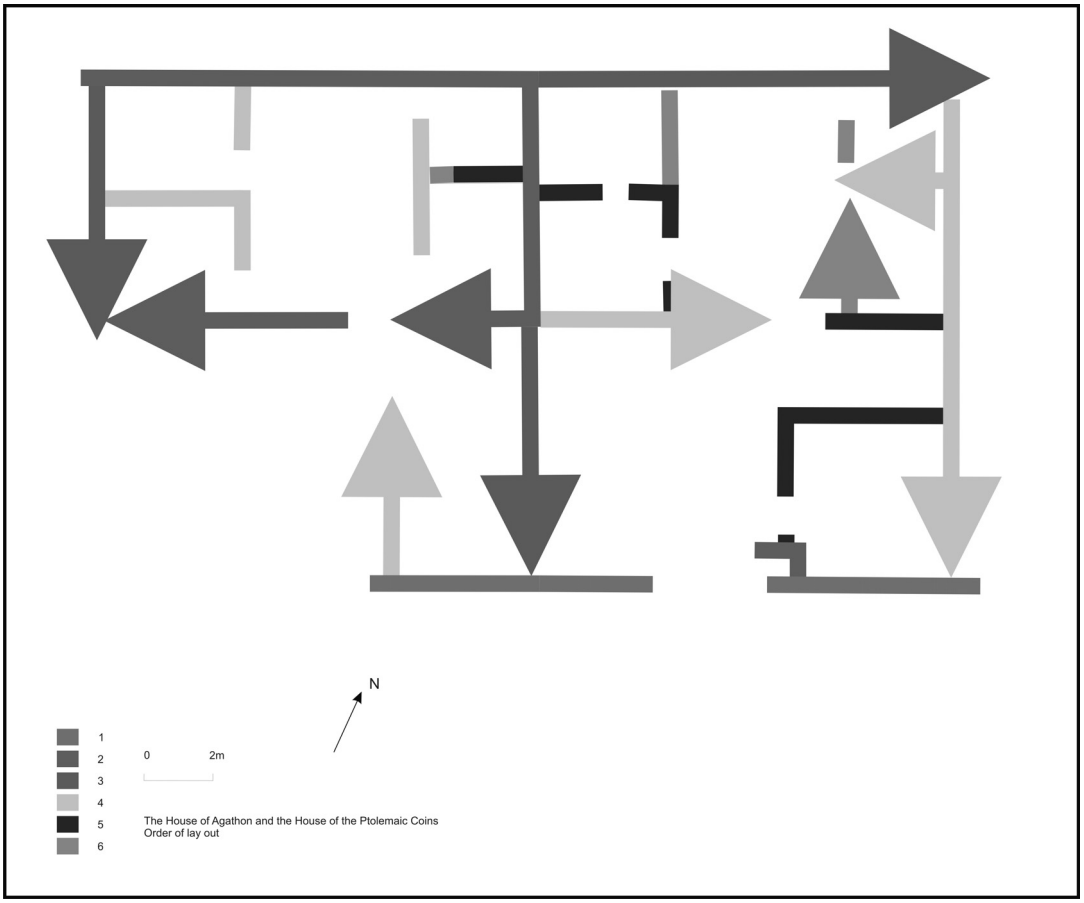

Fig. 3.2. Planning of the Houses at Halos: Bonding and seams of the foundation walls of the Houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and Agathon.

of the House of the Ptolemaic Coins and the House of Agathon, which is part of the lengthwise division wall of the housing block, was built in separate stages, with the westernmost house laid out first (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2).[8]
Yet, when looking at the rest of the foundations we must assume that the houses would have been built almost simultaneously since their internal walls are perfectly in line with each other and their plans are strikingly similar as well. The foundation blocks also suggest that the House of the Snakes was built at a, perhaps only slightly, later stage.
What this tells us is that the outline of the housing blocks was likely laid out in one go, while the block was subsequently subdivided and the foundations on each individual lot were built separately.[9] We do not see a pattern such as in Olynthus where the seams in all foundations walls including the external housing block foundations indicated that each lot was laid out individually.[10] There are also no clear distinctions between the construction methods of each set of foundations, such as is the case in Olynthus, which may point towards individual building strategies.
It is uncertain whether the construction of public works, such as sanctuaries, stoai, prytaneia in *all* newly planned cities, represent a communal effort, although an inscription from Colophon offers interesting insight in the financing of defensive structures, the appointment of an architectural team and the layout of roads and lots.[11] This inscription records an arrangement between Alexander the Great, his general Antigonus the One Eyed and the inhabitants of Colophon for raising funds and for initiating the processes involved in constructing a new city. The inscription clearly states that the layout of roads and blocks was done by the architect. The allotment and construction of houses is not mentioned, but at the end of this chapter we will discuss additional inscriptional evidence, which will shed more light on house construction.
New Halos largely lacks any clear public buildings and we can therefore not say whether they were part of the original plan of the city. In the upper city, we find the so-called sepulchral building, which likely is a small sanctuary dedicated to Demeter.[12] In the lower city we find the area of the agora, where most likely a stoa was located.[13] The fact that New Halos was a city which was inhabited for short period only might be one of the reasons why there is so little evidence for public architecture, since its construction may have been delayed. In the nearby city of Demetrias, founded in 290 BCE, the known public buildings all date from a much later period as well[14] and we may assume that the design and building of public architecture in newly planned cities may have been stretched over a longer period of time in comparison to the building of houses. Thirdly, a large part of the lower part of the upper city at Halos has fallen victim to a large quarry. Possible public buildings that were once situated here may have been destroyed in the quarrying process.

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[8] The building direction from west to east might also be explained by the direction of which the building material was transported. The stones derived from the upper city where the ancient quarries were located (see chapter 2)
[9] The exact location of the doorways must have been established after the lots were divided. Since the foundation stones of the houses are not deeply set in the soil, they could be easily removed where necessary.
[10] See Cahill 2002, 202
[11] Holland, L., "Colophon," *Hesperia* 13 (1944): 169-170; Maier, F.G., *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, I, (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1959), 224-236.
[12] Reinders, 1988, 137ff, now identified by Colette Beestman-Kruyshaar as a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Kore.
[13] Reinders, 1988, 109 and page 24, this volume.
[14] Marzolff, P., "Antike Städtebau und Architektur in Thessalien," in Misdrahi-Kapon 1994, 263.

A fourth reason for the lack of public structures in New Halos might be that the original location of the Old city of Halos, the present Magoula Plataniotiki, still played a role in the social, religious and economic organisation of the polis. Archaeological surface survey has

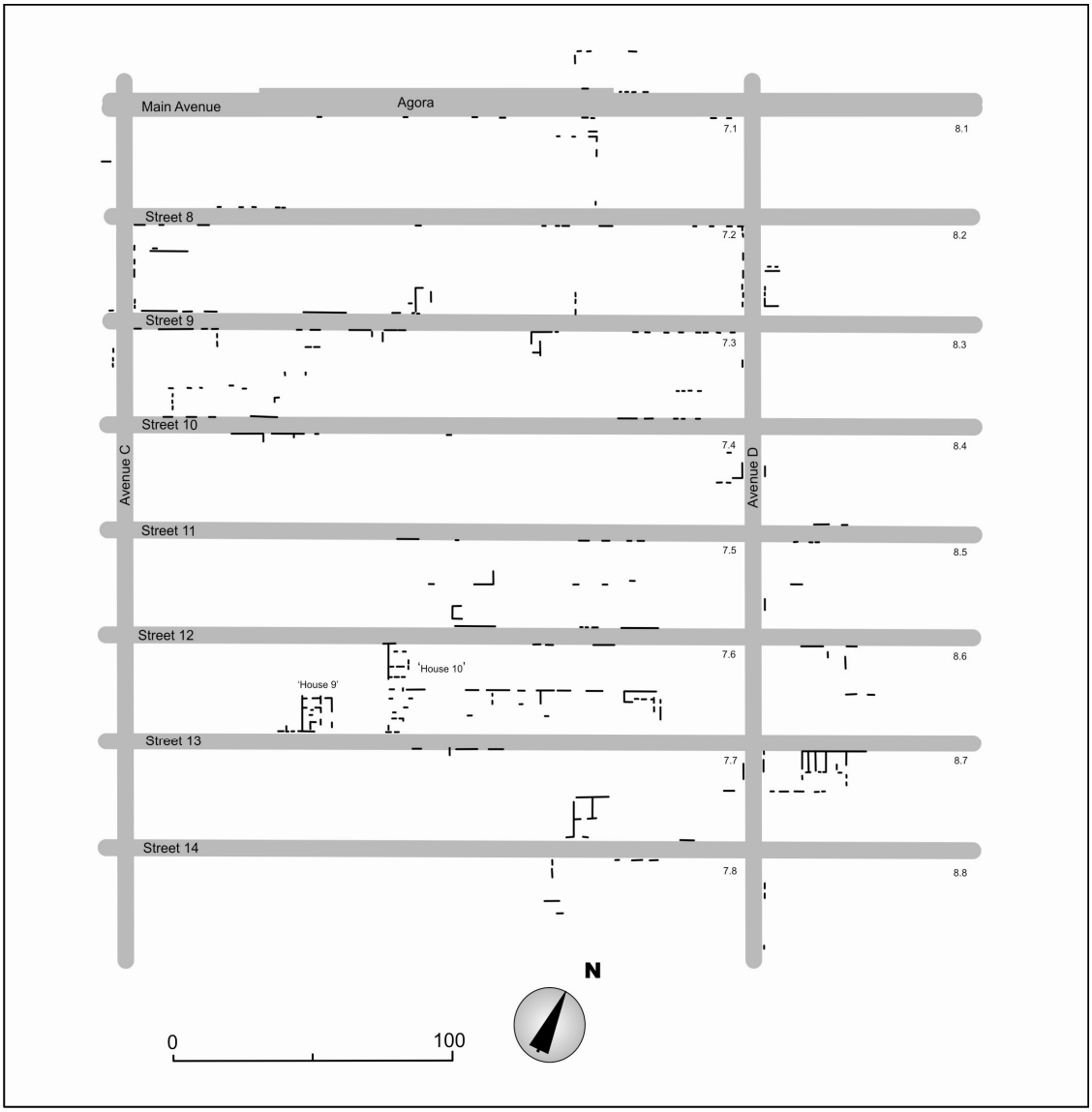

Fig. 3.3. Plan of the south eastern part of the lower city of Halos with Housing blocks 7.1-8.8.

indicated that the area remained in use after the city's destruction by Parmenion in 346 BCE.[15] The original core area of the polis could have remained in use as a political and religious centre, or was revived upon the re-establishment of the Hellenistic *polis* (see discussion below). Yet, it is uncertain whether any of the presumed public buildings, including the *Leiton*, 'the people's house' of the city, mentioned by Herodotus, were still in use in the Hellenistic period.[16]

3.4 House plans, surface areas and room sizes

Do similarities or differences in the plans of all known houses perhaps shed light on the question whether building in New Halos was a communal or individualized initiative and effort?

In the first place, we need to take another look at the map of the city as a whole, since many of the partitioning walls, dividing up the blocks in separate lots are still visible, which will inform us about variations in house sizes and plans (Fig. 3.3).[17]

At first glance, the map of the preserved remains in the lower city of New Halos betrays regularity in planning. Even over large distances the foundation walls line up, designating streets, avenues, external and internal foundation walls of buildings. Several aspects of its planning, such as the long housing blocks, have a strong relationship with the military character of the site and they will be discussed below.

In several housing blocks, such as 2.7, in which the House of the Coroplast is located, and in 3.6 there is evidence for an alley running E-W in the middle of the housing block. The excavated houses and other visible partitioning walls suggest house sizes between 11 m and 15 m. Larger buildings may have existed but could not be determined with certainty.

The different building widths seem to be distributed rather evenly over the city, with house widths of ca. 15 m being the most favourable. Buildings of 15 m were especially present on the E and W side of Avenue C. Smaller house sizes could overall be better determined in the S area of the city, most notably in housing blocks 6.4, 6.5 and 7.4. Our best evidence comes from housing block 6.4, where four houses were excavated, three bordering on each other (see Fig. 3.4). Two of these houses measure 12.50 x 15 m (the House of the Ptolemaic coins and the House of Agathon) while the two others measure 15 x 15 m (The House of the Amphorae and the House of the Snakes). Especially from the three houses sharing

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[15] This survey by the Halos Archaeological Survey Project was carried out in 1990 and consisted of taking grabsamples of three different plots on the Magoula. The material has been studied by the author. The ceramics cover a long period of time, from the Late 6th to the Byzantine period. Many fragments could be dated to the late 4th Century BCE (post destruction) and a small number of the many amphora fragments carried stamps which could be dated to the early 3rd century BCE. This indicated that the area functioned at least as a trading post/harbour in the period after the destruction of the Classical city and during the existence of the 3rd century city. For more information on the survey results and publications cf. chapter 7.

[16] Herodotus mentions Halos in his description of Xerxes' travel through Thessaly on his way to Athens, in a passage in which Xerxes intends to visit to the city (Herodotus 7.197). According to the historian, the Halians told him the following story about their city. The oldest member of the family clan which descended from Phrixos, the son of Athamas, the founder of the town, was forbidden to enter the town hall (*Leiton*, the people's house). When he would not obey to this rule and did enter the town hall, and would come out again, he was to be sacrificed in the sanctuary of the Laphystian Zeus (the devouring Zeus). Thereupon Xerxes decided not to enter the town hall and ordered his army to do likewise. He paid thus respect to both the house and the sacred enclosure connected to the descendants of Athamas.

[17] The complete map is available in the back of Reinders 1988.

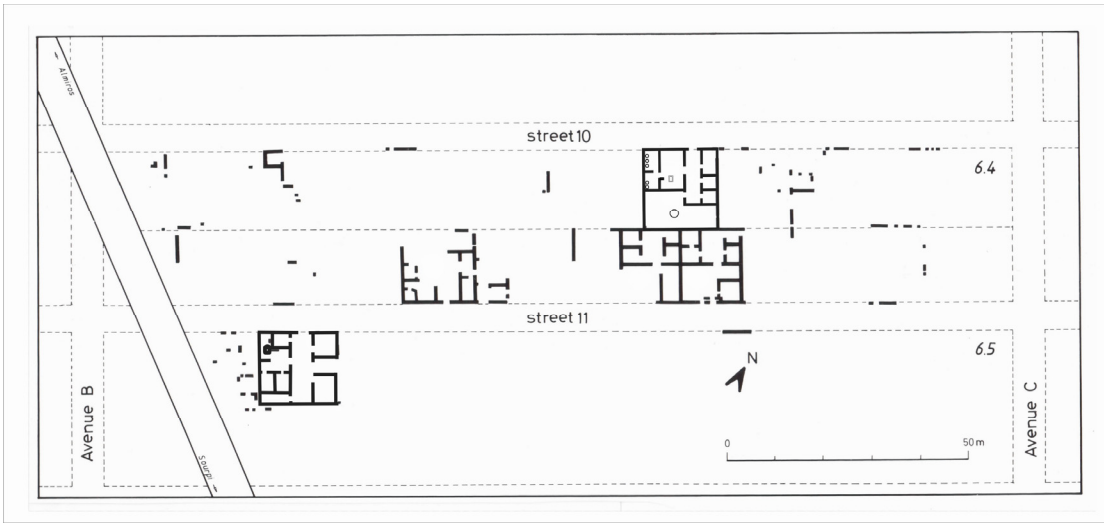

Fig. 3.4. Plan of housing blocks 6.4 and 6.5.

partitioning walls it becomes clear that the divisions of lots of the N part of the housing block does not line up with the division on the S part. This concurs with our earlier conclusion that the lots must have been divided after the housing block was laid out. There may have been areas in the city in which a more regular division of lots, such as the abovementioned area of Avenue C, was present, but the fragmentary character of the data does not allow any strong conclusions.

There is no easy explanation of the variation in house sizes. It is tempting to assume that houses with a larger surface area must have been more expensive. Size is, however, not the only variable in determining the value of houses. We do not have any inscriptional evidence from Halos concerning house prices, but the evidence from Olynthus suggests that the houses located in the vicinity of the agora of the city were more expensive than houses lying further away. House size seemed to have mattered less in a city like Olynthus.[18] We should also not prematurely assume that 'wealthy households' occupy the most expensive houses available in a city. House location, and therefore price, may have been more a matter of economic preference. We will examine these relationships in the Halos houses below.

An earlier publication already suggested a similarity in plans of the houses excavated at Halos.[19] Nowhere in New Halos do we see, however, the regularity in planning Hoepfner and Schwandner proposed for their version of the houses in Olynthus, Kassope and elsewhere. Just like in the Olynthian houses published by Cahill we see a variation of plans, but with a number of similar and recurring elements. How similar and how varied are these plans? I will start by looking at the architecture alone before engaging in the content of each house. House plans, room sizes and architectural features will be discussed first.

Overall, the covered area of the houses at Halos consists of six to seven spaces. In table 3.1 we can see the variation in the size of each individual space expressed in both square meters and in percentages of the total surface areas. Comparing the plans of the houses brings forward that each house contains: a courtyard, one 'large room', at least four 'side rooms' and one large side room.

[18] Cahill 2002, 280
[19] Haagsma 2003, 77-78.

The rooms of the living quarters are not only similar in positioning, but also in the amount of space they occupy in each house. The large rectangular room of ca. 29 to 35 m^2 is a central element in the covered part of the houses and is often flanked with four smaller rooms. There is a strong regularity in the percentage of total space these individual rooms cover. The large room takes up a total of between 13.85 and 20.76% of the total space of the houses. The smaller side rooms cover between 3.26 and 8%. A special category of 'large side rooms' can be recognised with each a general surface area around 17% of the total area of the house. Only the House of the Snakes has an extra element: an elongated space with must have functioned partially as a corridor. Since the House of the Snakes is a house at the northern side of the housing block with its living quarters on the northern side and the courtyard in the southern part, the corridor connects the street with the courtyard.

These different spaces are arranged in a variety of ways. In the case of the House of the Coroplast, we find that the courtyard is situated in the Western part of the house, while the covered areas are located in the eastern part of the lot. The House of the Tub is partially a mirror of the House of the Coroplast, be it that the first is a 15 x 15 m. house which is much wider due to an extra set of rooms on its eastern side. The internal configuration of rooms is strikingly similar, with the living quarters now situated on the western side and the elongated courtyard, not subdivided, as in the Coroplast, in the middle of the lot. The two house plans that look most like each other: the House of the Ptolemaic Coins and the House of Agathon are identical in layout. Both their living quarters are located on the northern part of the lot, with their courtyards facing south. The House of the Geometric Crater, even though it was partly excavated, displays a very similar layout. Only the side rooms in the eastern area of the house are larger than in the Houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and Agathon. But also here we witness a south facing courtyard with living quarters arranged in the northern area of the House. We can view a variety of this particular scheme in the House of the Snakes. Even though this house is located in the northern part of the housing block, the northern location of the living quarters is maintained here. A corridor (area 7/9) is added to facilitate a passage from the street to the courtyard in the south of the house, separating two of the small 'side rooms' from the large central room (room 8/11).

Four of the, in total seven, excavated large central rooms have a clear hearth (the House of the Snakes and the House of the Tub) or traces of fire (the Ptolemaic Coins and the Coroplast) in the centre of the room, which is an indication of similarity in use.

The entrances to the houses vary in width and articulation. The width of doorways might provide indications whether houses could give way to carts which could be parked in the courtyard. The house of the Coroplast has the widest entrance way of all, with a prothyron giving access to the courtyard. The width would be large enough to give access to a cart, although the courtyard itself is rather small for such a purpose (see below). All other houses have smaller entrances. The only other prothyron which was detectable was located in the House of Agathon, but was not large enough for a cart or other wheeled traffic. The House of the Snakes naturally did not have a prothyron, since the living quarters could be entered directly from the street. The street facing foundations of other houses sometimes proved to be too damaged to securely measure the width of the doorway. None of the houses had double doorways, such as found in Olynthus or other sites.

Other architectural features are scarce. Plastered or painted rooms, rooms with a plastered or mosaic floors which may provide some indication of variety amongst the

houses were not found.[20] In terms of architectural detail, houses are fairly similar in their lack of articulation and embellishment.
There is one variation in individual surface area amongst the houses. The courtyards vary significantly in size. They (including the presumed 'pastades') range in surface area from 18.73% (House of the Coroplast) to 32.98% (House of the Snakes) of the total area of the house. This might be an important indication of variation in usage of the houses and I will explain this variation in the next section when we discuss the distribution of activity areas based on the distribution of artefacts.
Now we have seen that there is rather little variation in the layout and articulation of the houses at Halos, we might wonder whether we can identify any more house plans in the lower city of New Halos, based on the observations of the Halos team before the agricultural activities destroyed large parts of the site. The plans of the excavated houses discussed in Chapter 3 represent, of course, a better dataset then the unexcavated buildings of the city, yet we can indeed add a few building plans of houses to the seven that we already have. Housing block 7.6 not only provides us with a clear picture of how the block itself, which is 210 m in length, is divided up in a northern and southern area, but it also contains parts of two more house plans: House 9 and House 10 (Figs. 3. 5 and 3.6). In addition, we find another building (house 11) in housing block 2.6. (Fig. 3.8). [21] We will also reconsider the plan of the so-called 'House A', situated in housing block 6.2 (Fig. 3.9).[22]
House 9 and House 10 appear relatively clear in the overall plan of the lower city. The buildings have been individually studied in the 1978 season and were cleaned and individually drawn on a scale of 1:40. They were originally designated as potential houses for future excavation, but in subsequent seasons the buildings were ploughed away and today nothing is left of the constructions.
The preserved measurements of House 9 are 11.05 m east-west by 12.22 m north-south. It is situated on the southern part of the housing block with an entrance giving access to street 13. Since the house was not excavated but just cleaned, some of the foundations might have been still buried under the soil and the entrance to the building and the northern part of the building are missing. That the house was originally 15.50 m north-south is confirmed by the continuation of the foundations, the eastern and western exterior walls, as well as an internal wall seem to further run to the north.

[20] However, the excavations in the summer of 2009 of the House of the Tub yielded evidence for a plastered room: room 5. Reinders, pers. comm.
[21] In the fieldwork documentation, these houses are referred to as houses C3b1, C3b3 and B7c3. House 12 did not receive an individual number.
[22] Published in Reinders 1988, 113ff

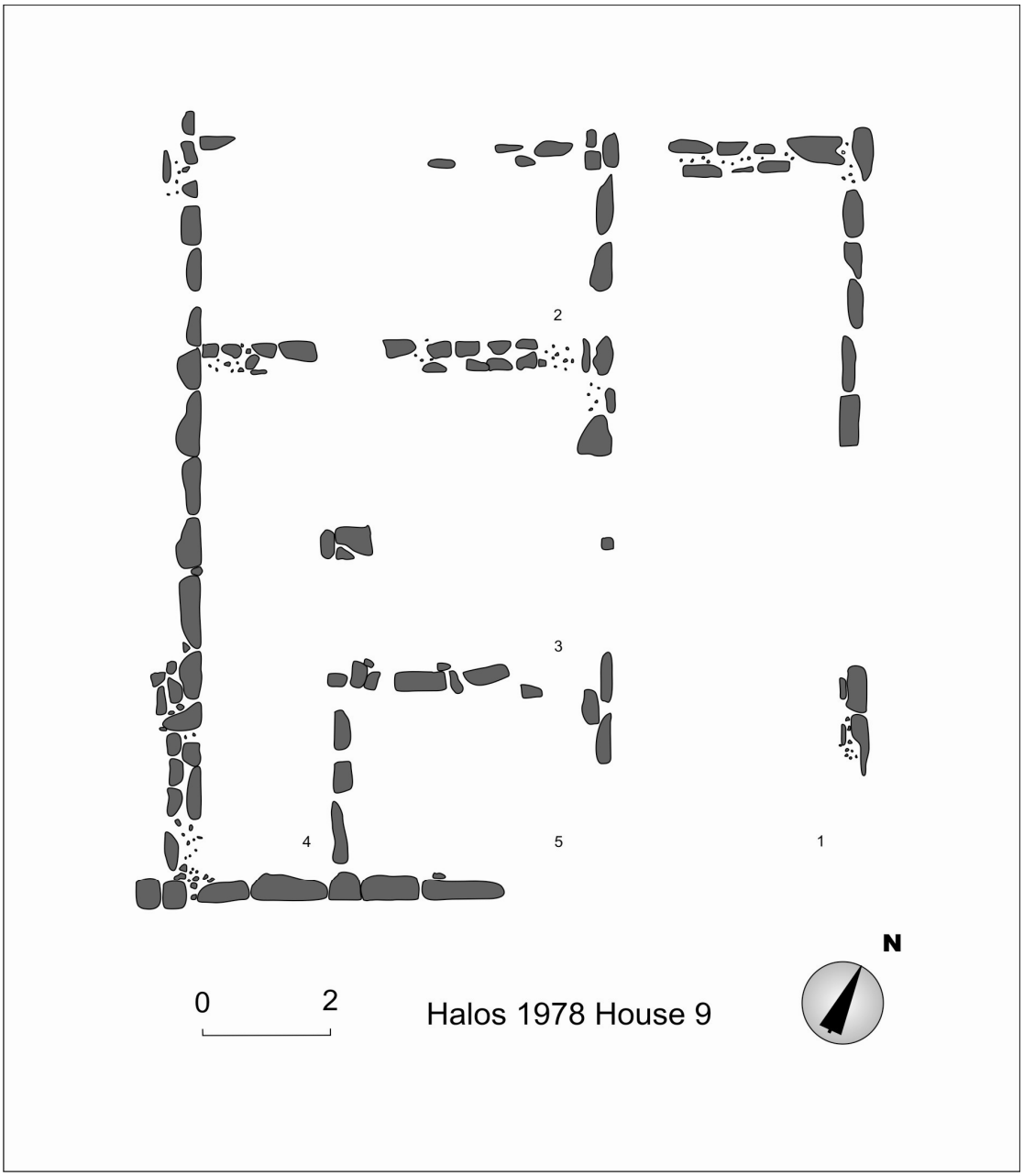

Fig. 3.5. House 9, (Part of) an unexcavated house in housing block 7.6.

The plan of house 9 is a variation of that of the House of the Coroplast and the House of the Tub. The measurements of the house may coincide with that of the latter, be it that the section of rooms east of the courtyard present in the House of the Tub may have already have been removed. The entrance must have been located in the south of area 1. Area 1 itself bears all the characteristics of a courtyard. Its measurements are ca. 12 x 3.60 m. In the north, this area is bounded by a wall running east-west, which has an aperture on its western side. The living quarters of the house are located on the western side and consist of the characteristic five room configuration of one large living room with side rooms. The large room (room 3) measures 4.80 x 5.80 m.
The area north of the large room (room 2) is not visibly subdivided into two rooms, as usual, but because the house was not excavated, it is very probable that two rooms might have been located here. The measurement of this area is 5.88 x 2.80 m.

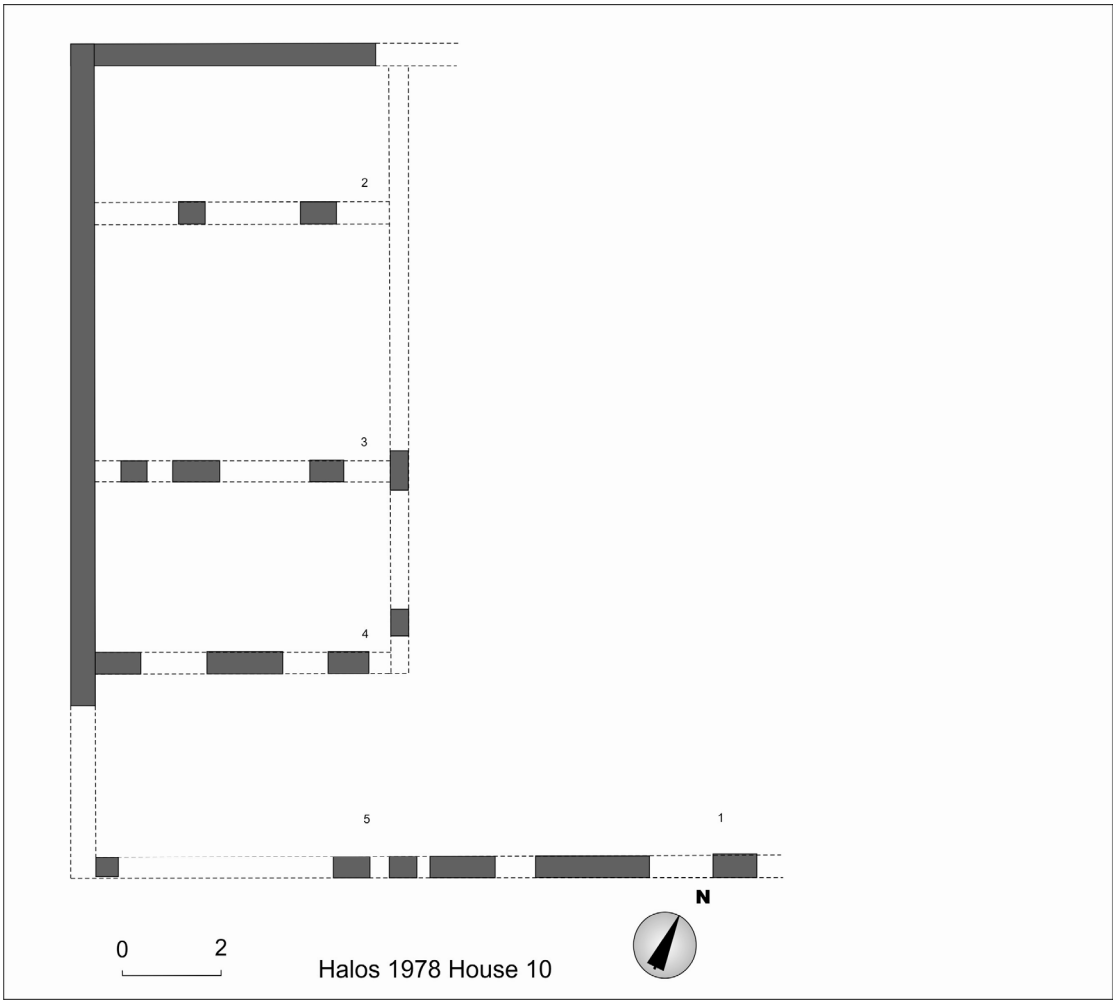

Fig. 3.6. House 10, an unexcavated house in housing block 7.6.

The area south of the main living room is divided into two rooms: room 4 and room 5. Room 4 is situated in the utmost south-western part of the house. The room is rather small, measuring 1.92 x 2.80 m and seems to be open towards room 3 in the north. While cleaning the foundations, the team discovered one of the few clear indications of water channels from the house towards the street. In the south-western corner of room 4, a roof-tile was wedged in between two foundation stones, forming a small channel for water flowing from inside the house to the street. Taking into account the small size of the room, the rather private access to it (from the main living room) and the presence of the water channel we might postulate a bathroom in this area of the house. However, without excavation, we have no certainty. We will discuss other bathrooms in the houses of Halos in chapter 6.

Room 5, located east of room 4, measures 3.80 x 3 m. It opens up to the entrance area 1. In terms of its location, size and accessibility, it is comparable to room 9 of the House of the Coroplast. It is uncertain what the area north of room 2 was used for. It might have contained one of the elongated larger side rooms, such as room 4 in the House of the Coroplast.

We witness another version of the concept of the Houses of the Coroplast, the Tub and House 9 in House 10 (see Fig. 3.6), be it that the House of the Tub is larger and has an extra set of side rooms east of the courtyard. House 10 is located in the same housing

block as House 9 but is situated on its northern side. The western part is best preserved, including its western partitioning wall and some of the internal foundations. The southern partitioning wall has been preserved up to a width of almost 14 m. Its eastern partitioning wall was not visible, however, meaning that the width of the courtyard which I postulate in this part of the house cannot be measured. But because the plan is so comparable to that of the houses mentioned above, we can make a reasonable guess. The width of the living quarters is known: the internal width (east-west) of rooms 3, 4 and 5 is ca. 6 m. Since the relative width of the living quarters of the houses mentioned above has a strong correlation with the width of the courtyard, we can assume that House 10 had a width comparable to that of the House of the Tub and House 9: ca. 11 m. The length of the house is 16.5 m.
We do not know whether the eastern part of the house was completely occupied by the courtyard or not. With regard to the living quarters we can reconstruct the familiar configuration of the large room flanked by smaller side rooms. The large room can be identified in room 3. It measures 6.00 x 4.60 m. There are no visible subdivisions of rooms 2 and 4. The areas each measure 6.00 x 2.60 m and 6.00 x 3.65 m. We also cannot determine what the precise connection was between room 5 and area 1. Because of these uncertainties house 10 can therefore not serve as a very clear example house planning in Halos, but merely serves as supportive evidence for the relative popularity of certain domestic configurations in the city.

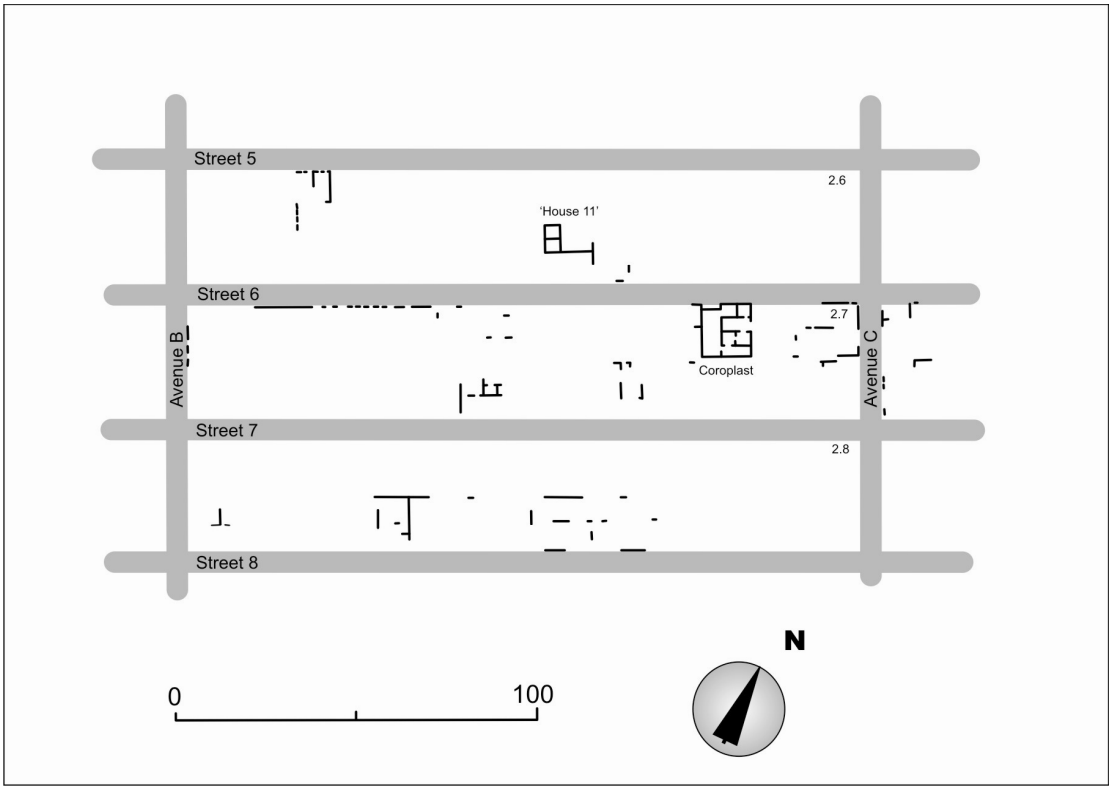

Fig. 3.7. Part of the plan of the lower city at New Halos with housing blocks 2.6 - 2.8.

House 11 is located in housing block 2.6. It is a south facing house of ca 12.50 m in width. There is very little left of the house apart from part of the east and west partitioning walls and two rooms. Yet, the positioning of the rooms in the house is reminiscent of the Houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and Agathon. It could very well be that we have a north facing house with a similar plan as the two abovementioned houses. The two rooms measure by estimation 3.50 x 3.50 m each.
House A, located in housing block 6.2, was also only cleared. The plan is, however one of the most complete of the unexcavated houses, despite of the uncertain courses of the internal foundations. The detailed plan which was made of the house is slightly different from that of the other known houses in the city. The measurements of the house are: 15 by 15 m. It is the only house in which we cannot clearly see the common configuration of rooms. The house is a south facing house with a clear entrance from street 9. The threshold of the main door was still lying in situ. The doorway measured 1.99 m in width and the threshold measured 1.57 m.

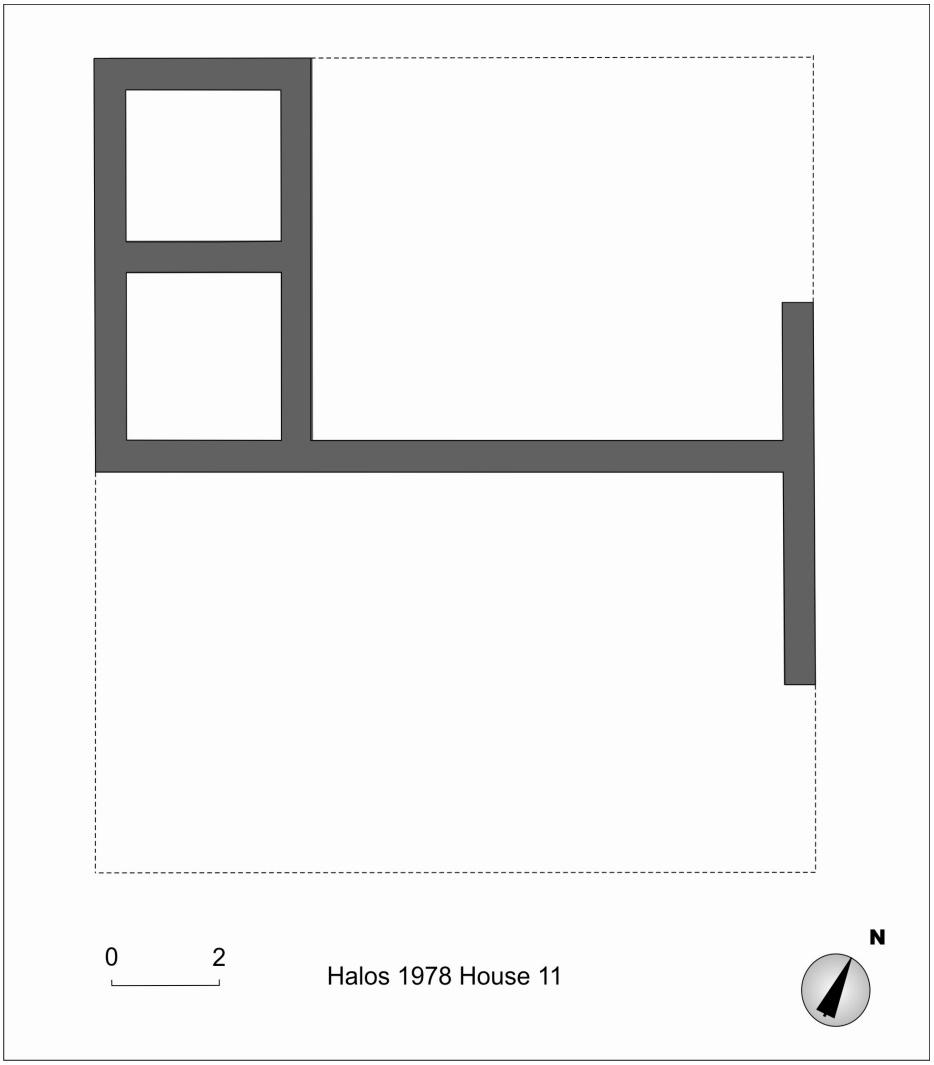

Fig. 3.8. House 11. An unexcavated house in housing block 2.6.

The distance between the door posts was just over one meter; the double door could therefore not have given way to wheeled traffic. The foundations flanking the main doorway indicate the original presence of a prothyron. The door gave access to a square area (area 1) which can be interpreted as a courtyard, measuring 9.60 x 7.04 m. Foundations on the eastern side of the courtyard designate a large room (room 2) with internal dimensions 4.80 x 7.20 m. A doorway led to area 3 which is bounded by the exterior foundation walls on its northern and eastern sides. An internal foundation wall on its eastern side borders to another large area, area 4. Both areas, or 'rooms', were most likely further subdivided by other internal foundation walls. The threshold discovered in area 3, (1.34 m long, 0.98 m space between the doorposts) is located in the middle where one would expect the 'large room' present in all of the other known houses at Halos. The threshold must have given access to another room in the northern part of the house.

Remnants of the belonging foundation walls were not visible. I find the published reconstructed plan[23] not entirely convincing and I rather would like to display the measured remains as they are found. Because of the lack of internal foundations, we cannot speculate on the internal configuration of living space and the presence and probable location of the large room and side rooms.

Comparing the best preserved houses at Halos in terms of room size in comparison to the total surface area of the houses shows a distinct correlation between house size and the area occupied by the large room and the side rooms (see Figs 3.10 and 3.11). This further confirms the similarities present in the houses. Despite the imprecise plan of House A, which is not excavated, it has become clear that the plans of the houses at Halos are similar in their internal configuration and their lack of architectural embellishment. Variations in spatial configuration do exist, but they seem to be the result of personal preference, rather than the result of a strategy of expressing social and economic distinction. But in order to obtain a solid idea of spatial variation in the Halos houses I will perform one more analysis. In the next paragraph I will examine the spatial organisation of the houses in terms of access patterns.

[23] Reinders 1988, 114.

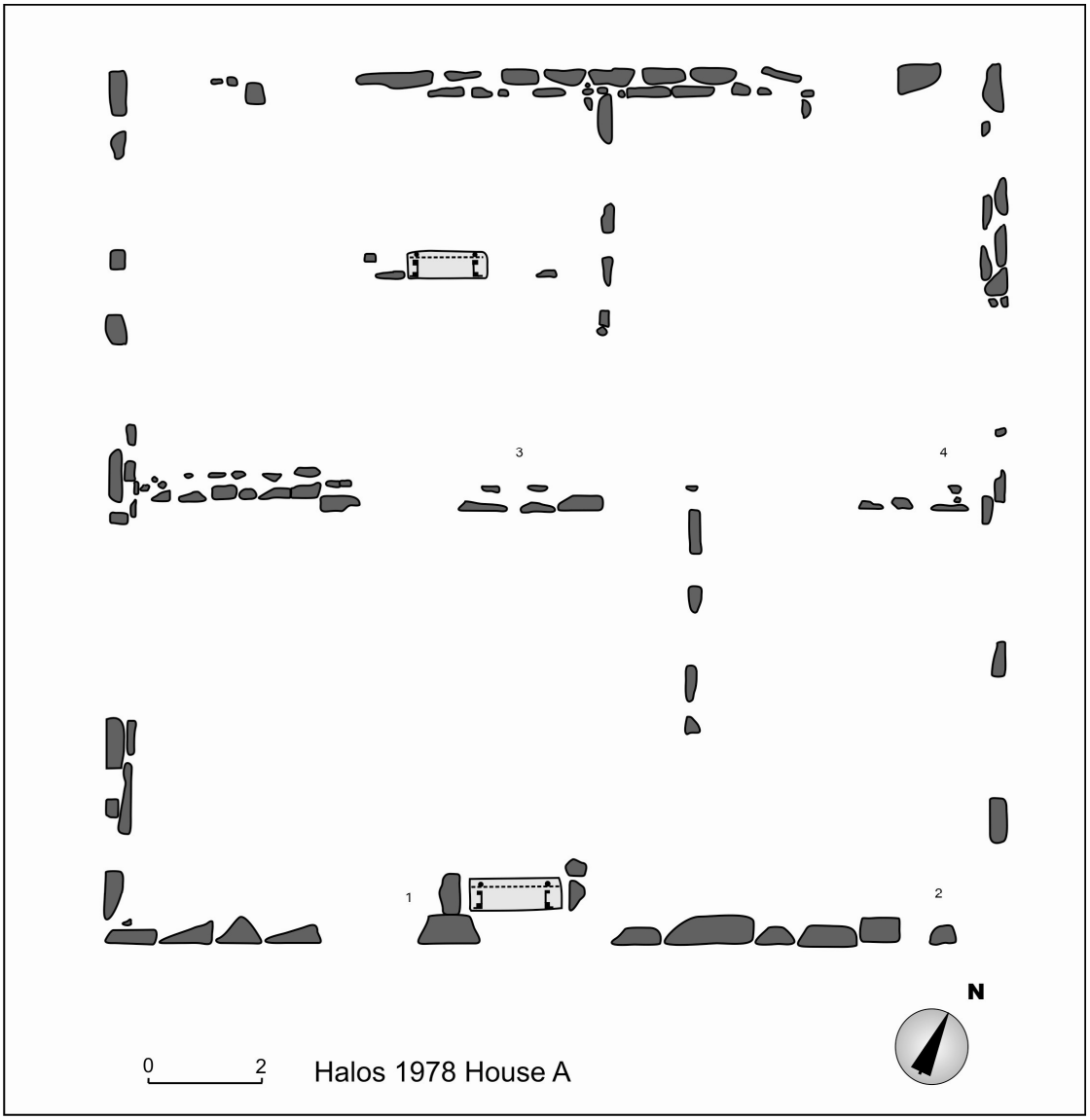

Fig. 3.9. Foundations of House A, an unexcavated house in housing block 6.2.

Room size and surface area Halos Houses				
*measured inside the wall foundations				
House of the Snakes				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of Total
Courtyard	4, 10, 13, 15, 16		68.37	32.98
Pastas	12, 14	8.40 x 2.94	24.72	11.92
Side room	1	2.50 x 2.80	7	3.38
	2	2.50 x 2.70	6.75	3.26
	5	2.70 x 3.30	8.91	4.3
	6	2.50 x 3.95	9.87	4.77
Larger side room	3	2.80 x 4.70	13.16	6.35
Corridor	7, 9	3.20 x 10.50	33.28	16.05
Large room	8 + 11	4.70 x 7.50	35.25	17
Total Surface Area			207.31	100.01
House of the Amphorae				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of Total
Courtyard	*?*		*?*	*?*
Pastas	*?*		*?*	*?*
Side room	1	2.85 x 4.40	12.54	6.23
	2	2.90 x 4.50	13.05	6.49
	4	2.58 x 3.20	8.24	4.1
	5	3 x 3.30	9.9	4.92
Larger side room	?		?	
Corridor	?		?	
Large room	?		?	
Total Surface Area			201.22	21.74
House of Agathon				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of total
Courtyard + Prothyron	Part of 6		31.5	21.38
Pastas	Part of 6	12 x 2.30	27.6	18.74
Side room	1	3.60 x 2.75	9.9	6.72
	2	3.65 x 3.35	12.23	8.3
	4	2.75 x 2.40	6.6	4.48
	5	2.60 x 3.70	9.62	6.53
Larger side room	7	4.45 x 4.40	19.58	13.3
Corridor				
Large room	3	4.80 x 6.30	30.24	20.53
Total Surface area			147.27	99.98

House of the Ptolemaic Coins				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of total
Courtyard (+ Prothyron?)	Part of 6	8.15 x 4,85	39.53	25.55
Pastas	Part of 6	8.15 x 2.30	18.74	12.11
Side room	1	2.80 x 2.30	6.44	4.16
	2	2.75 x 3.80	10.45	6.75
	4	3.80 x 3	11.4	7.37
	5	3.75 x 3.05	11.43	7.39
Larger side room	7	3.55 x 7.15	25.38	16.4
Corridor				
Large room	3	4.75 x 6.60	31.35	20.26
Total Surface area			154.72	99.99
House of the Geometric Krater				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of total
Courtyard (+ prothyron?)	part of 4	12.20 x 4.20	51.24	32.93
Pastas (rec.)	part of 4	9 x 2.60	23.4	15.04
Side room	1	2.85 x 4.65	13.25	8.52
	2	2.85 x 4.60	13.11	8.43
reconstructed	5	4.00 x 2.60	10.4	6.68
reconstructed	6	4.00 x 3.60	14.4	9.25
Larger side room				
Corridor				
Large room	3	4.35 x 6.85	29.8	19.15
Total Surface area			155.6	100
House of the Coroplast				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of total
Courtyard (+ prothyron)	1	5.20 x 6	31.2	18.73
Prostas (rec.)	2	5.30 x 2.30	12.19	7.32
Side room	5	3.60 x 3.60	12.96	7.78
	6	3.60 x 3.60	12.96	7.78
	8	2.65 x 2.75	7.29	4.38
	9	4.40 x 2.70	11.88	7.13
Larger side room	3	5.20 x 5.20	27.04	16.23
	4	7.65 x 2.15	16.45	9.88
Corridor				
Large room	7	4.55 x 7.60	34.58	20.76
Total Surface area			166.55	99.99

House of the Tub				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of total
Courtyard	7	4.52 x 14.62	66.08	32.35
Prostas (rec.)				
Side room	1	2.49 x 2.67	6.65	3.26
	2	3.27 x 2.63	8.6	4.21
	4	3.68 x 2.89	10.63	5.21
	5	3.64 x 2.92	10.63	5.21
	6	6.28 x 2.02	12.68	6.21
	9	4.52 x 3.20	14.46	7.08
Larger side room	8	4.55 x 4.60	20.93	10.25
Corridor				
Large room	3	4.49 x 6.30	28.29	13.85
	10	4.40 x 5.74	25.26	12.37
Total Surface area			204.21	100
House 9				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of total
Courtyard	1	3.60 x 11	39.6	
Prostas (rec.)				
Side room	2	5.88 x 2.80	16.46	
	4	1.92 x 2.80	5.38	
	5	3.80 x 3.00	11.4	
Larger side room*		10 x 3	30	
Corridor				
Large room	3	4.80 x 5.80	27.84	
Total Surface area		11.05 x 15.50	130.68	
House 10				
	Room/area nrs	Measurements*	Surface area*	Percentage of total
Courtyard	1			
Prostas (rec.)				
Side room	2	6.00 x 2.60	15.6	
	4	6.00 x 3.65	21.9	
Larger side room*	5	6.00 x 3.55	21.3	
Corridor				
Large room	3	4.60 x 6.00	27.6	
Total remaining area		4.40 x 15.50	68.2	
Total Surface area*			154.6	

Table 3.1. House size and room sizes in the houses at New Halos.

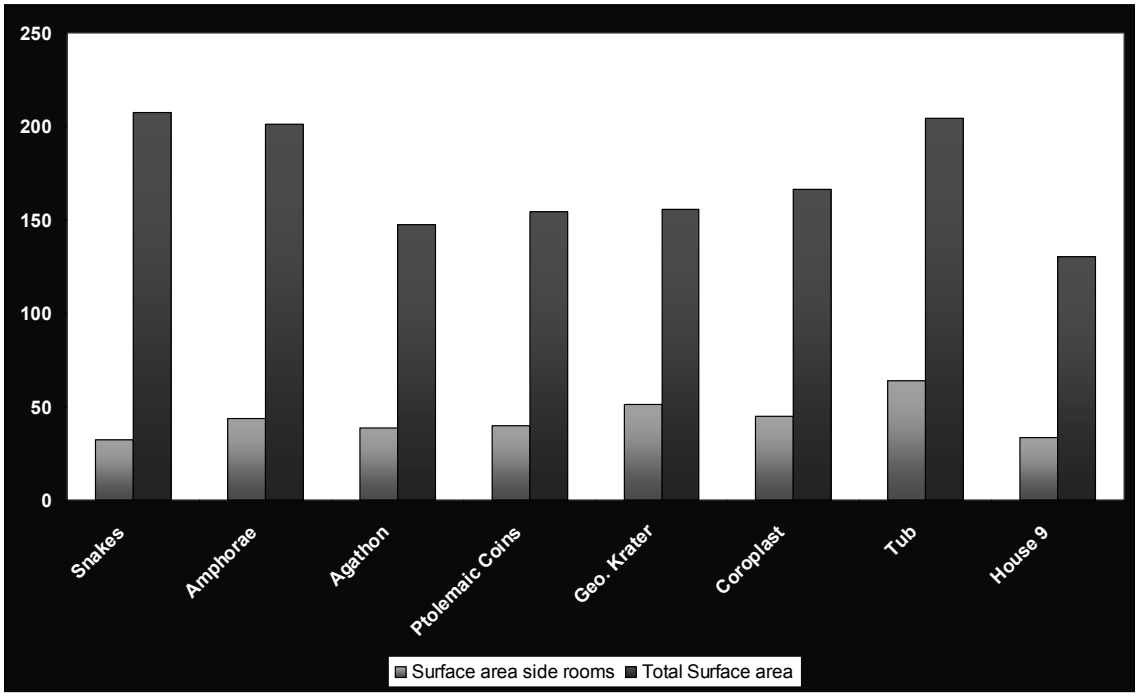

Fig. 3.10. Surface area and side rooms in the houses at New Halos.

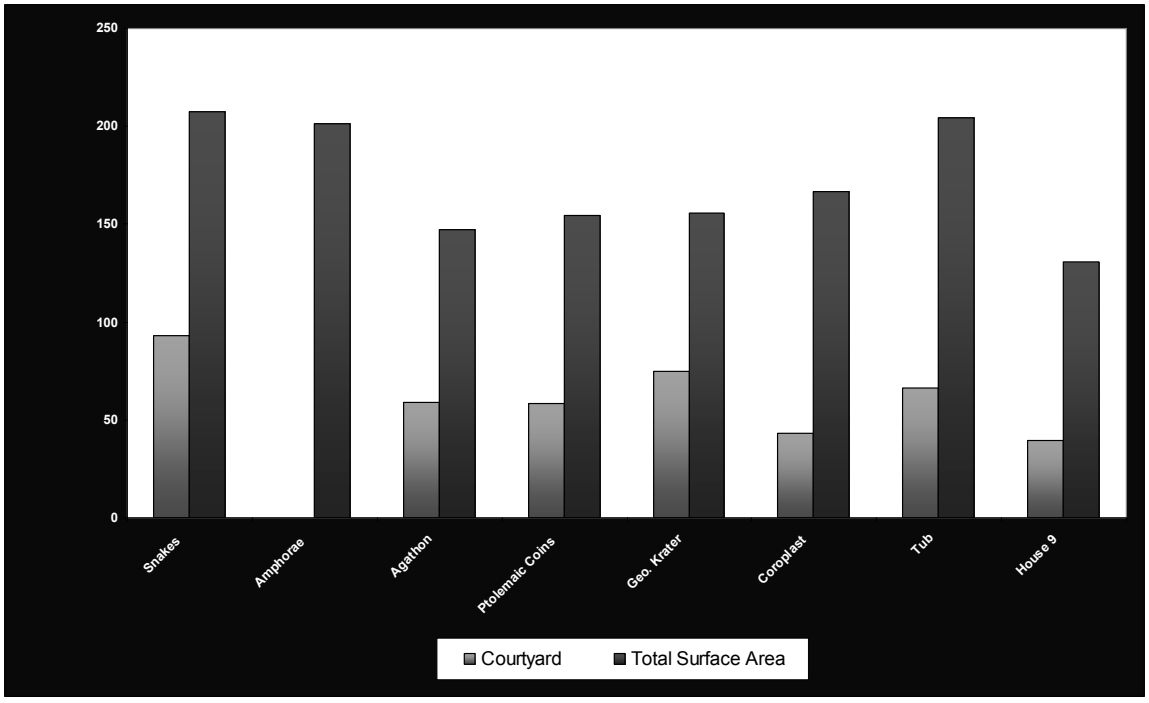

Fig. 3.11 Surface area and courtyards in the Houses at New Halos.

3.5 Access Analysis

In addition to the analysis employed in the previous chapters, which focuses on room size and wall foundation bonding, I will now focus on the accessibility of the houses as measure of determining variety. The varying level of accessibility of a building as a means of communication between houses and the outside world was first proposed by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in their book *The Social Logic of Space.*[24]

Hillier and Hanson developed a method for analysing the organisation of spatial structures of individual buildings as well as of settlements as a whole. Their method focuses on relational patterns in spatial arrangements and accessibility between an 'inside and 'outside'. The principles forming these patterns are interpreted as a 'syntax' in which the principal axiom is that 'spatial organisation is a function of the form of social solidarity.'[25]

In relation to individual buildings, Hillier and Hanson created the so-called 'gamma analysis' in order to measure and examine the level of permeability within individual buildings as a means of that building's relation to the boundary (i.e. the threshold with the 'outside'). This boundary creates two sets of people: the inhabitants whose social existence is mapped into the category of space within a 'cell' (i.e. building) and the category outsiders who may have temporary access to the building but may not control it.[26] In short, this method measures relative distances between a set of interior spaces in relation to an 'outside' as a function of the social relations between the dwellers of these spaces and outsiders. In my research I use the outcomes of this analysis as an indication of the level of private vs. public spheres in the houses as well as between the private sphere of the house and the public sphere of the city.

The use of gamma analysis in the houses of New Halos may give us insight in the relative accessibility of rooms/areas or identified activities performed there. As such, it will aid us to identify the areas and activities in the houses which were considered most 'private' or protected, vs. areas with a more open or public character. Hillier and Hanson's model may not be employed as a singular methodology in the analysis of space in cross-cultural contexts, but in combination with other forms of spatial and artefactual analysis it has proven to be useful in identifying patterning in architectural layouts and behaviour.[27] In this chapter our conclusions can therefore only be preliminary. A synthesis of our findings here with the analysis of activity areas will be discussed in chapter 6.

For this analysis I have measured the values of inaccessibility, closedness and openness of the houses. The inaccessibility and openness values are also measured by Hillier and

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[24] Hillier and Hanson, 1984, 143ff.

[25] Hillier and Hanson 1984, 142

[26] Hillier and Hanson 1984, 146

[27] At the time, Hillier and Hanson's model was presented as a universal approach which was applicable to a large variety of contexts. The basic assumption in the model is that space is organised by enclosure (walls and ceilings) and accesses and that analysis of these basic elements creates an understanding in communication and social order within a settlement or a single building. But architecture is often more complex than that. Walls, do not necessarily need to close off an area completely, since their height is sometimes limited; doorways can be open or closed by doors; windows facilitate communication between areas; even furniture can be arranged in such a way that it creates boundaries in an existing architectural space. In short, architecture is much more 'flexible' than presented in the study of Hillier and Hanson. (Priemus 1969) On the other hand, in many cultures people use a variety of architectural elements or other means to organise their space. A combination of architectural and artefact analyses including that of Hillier and Hanson have been used successfully in a number of studies: I used it in the analysis of three houses at Halos in my M.phil thesis (1990). Nevett applied it in her PhD thesis and later in her book *House and Society in the Ancient Greek world*. (1999).

Hanson and as such successfully employed by Nevett.[28] The accessibility value indicates how 'deep' a room or area is located in the house: how many spaces must one move through before entering this room or area. The openness value indicates how open rooms or areas are in relation to the spaces surrounding them by counting the number of apertures facilitating movement. Rooms with many apertures leading from and to it could signify central spaces and can signify a specific use.[29] I have added one modification to the analysis which takes an important actual architectural feature into account which strongly determines the relative accessibility or inaccessibility of a space: the door. Not all apertures serving as passageways from one area to the other were marked by doors. Doors have a significant impact on the accessibility of a space. The closedness value gives insight in the level of enclosure: how many doors must one pass through before entering a space. The higher the value, the more 'closed' a space was in relation to the main entrance of the house. My basic assumption here is that the spaces that were considered most private in the house will have the highest value of inaccessibility, the highest value in closedness and the lowest value in openness.
There is a problem with the doorways however; not all doorways could be identified as having doors, as thresholds were mostly lacking. This is not entirely surprising as thresholds are usually located higher in the archaeological deposit, they have been subject to harrowing and looting, as thresholds make excellent secondary building material. A good example of how easily thresholds could be lifted from the surface is reported by Reinders in relation to 'house A.'[30] This part of the analysis is therefore only partially informative.
Figs 3.12 - 3.17 represent permeability maps of all houses in New Halos of which we have a relatively secure plan. As stated in Chapter 2, I have not indicated any possible second floor since we were not able to point these out with certainty. The open circles indicate spaces which could be accessed without moving through a door as approached from the entrance. The tables 3.2 – 3.7 indicate the values of inaccessibility, closedness and openness of rooms and areas in all houses.The analysis shows that the houses of the Coroplast (first building stage), Geometric Krater, Agathon, the Ptolemaic Coins, the Snakes and the Tub all have a couple of features in common. In the first place, all houses have one entrance. The houses could all be entered directly from the street the house was facing. The entrance led in almost all cases to the courtyard, an unroofed space. The courtyard and the pastas nearly always open up to a multitude of covered spaces signifying these areas as central spaces.[31] The House of the Snakes is an exception. Here the courtyard is actually located in a rather private area of the house, since this was a house located on the north side of a housing block. But in this house the corridor (room 7/9) functions as a so-called central space. A second central space can be found in all the covered areas of the houses. These are the 'large rooms',[32] which open up to a variety of smaller side rooms. These central rooms are located relatively deep into the houses. Their inaccessibility values are relatively high, but so are their openness values. The closedness values are intermediate, signifying that this area was not

[28] Nevett 1999, 178
[29] Idem
[30] Reinders 1988, 115.
[31] The *pastades* in the houses are presumed, since we have not found any evidence of actual column supports in the houses. (See chapter 2) Further evidence will be presented in chapter 5 and 6, with regard to specific activities performed in the pastas.
[32] House of the Geometric Krater, room 3; House of Agathon, room 3, House of the Ptolemaic Coins, rooms 3; House of the Snakes, room 8/11; House of the Tub, room 3.

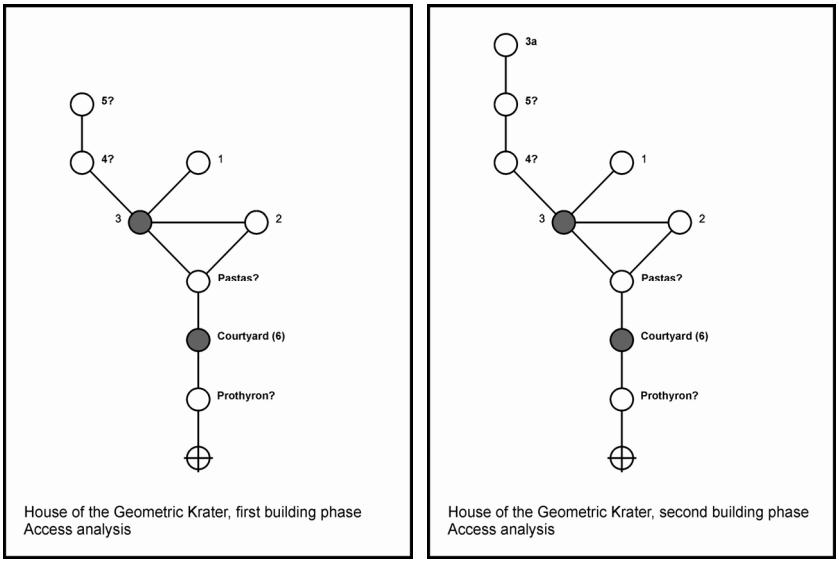


Fig. 3.12. Access analysis: The House of the Geometric Krater.

Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values **House of the Geometric Krater**						
	1st Building phase			2nd Building phase		
	Inaccessibility (depth)	*Closedness*	*Openness*	*Inaccessibility (depth)*	*Closedness*	*Openness*
Prothyron?	1	0	2	1	0	2
Courtyard	2	1	2	2	1	2
Pastas?	3	1	3	3	1	3
Room 2	4	1	2	4	1	2
Room 3	4	2	4	4	2	4
Room 1	5	2	1	5	2	1
Room 4?	5	2	2	5	2	2
Room 5?	6	2	1	6	2	2
Room 3a				7	2	1

Table 3.2. Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values: The House of the Geometric Krater.

particularly private *within* the realm of the house, though rather private as experienced from the *outside*.
The observations above mean that overall we have two 'central spaces' in the house, one roofed and one unroofed. When compared with our analysis of room size, we see that, perhaps not surprisingly, the central spaces represent the largest spaces in the house.

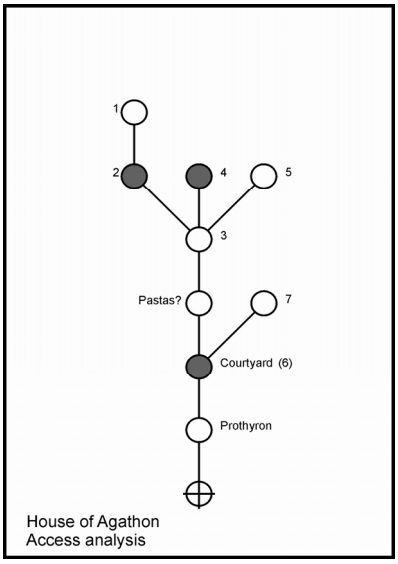
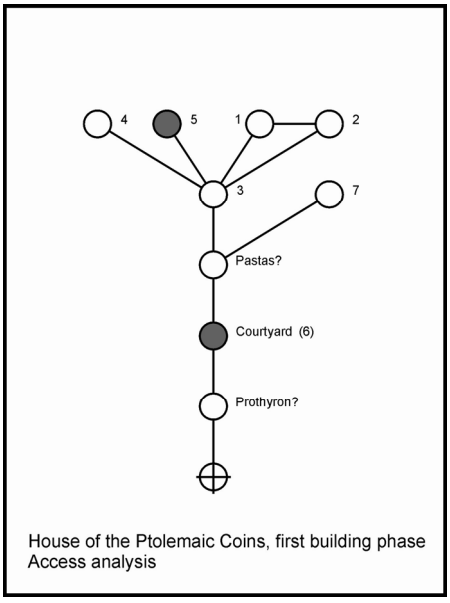


Fig. 3.13. Access analysis: the House of Agathon.

Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values House of Agathon			
	Inaccessibility (depth)	*Closedness*	*Openness*
Prothyron	1	0	2
Courtyard	2	1	3
Room 7	3	1	1
Pastas?	4	1	2
Room 3	5	1	4
Room 2	6	2	2
Room 4	6	2	1
Room 5	6	1	1
Room 1	7	2	1

Table 3.3. Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values: The House of Agathon.

These central spaces signify a higher potential of opportunities for communication between the inhabitants of the houses. But the fact that the uncovered spaces have lower inaccessibility and closedness values indicates that it was a relative public area of the house, which means that it may have been open to potential outsiders who had temporary access (see above). The pastas, interestingly, seems to have had the role of a mediating space between the public area and the more private part of the house. In all



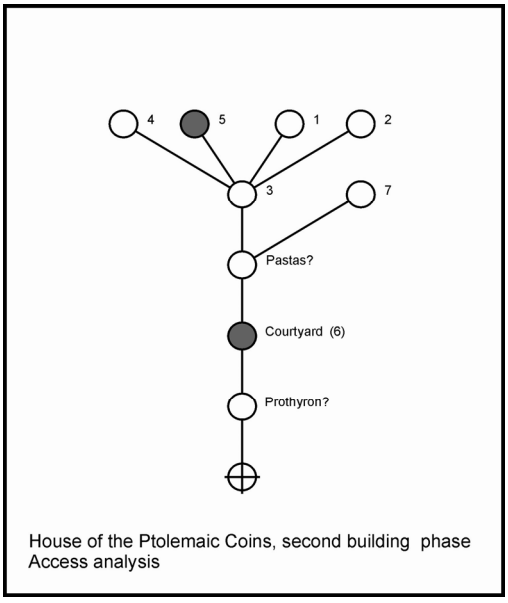


Fig.3.14. Access analysis: The House of the Ptolemaic Coins, first and second building phases.

Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values
House of the Ptolemaic Coins

	1st Building phase			2nd Building phase		
	Inaccessibility (depth)	*Closedness*	*Openness*	*Inaccessibility (depth)*	*Closedness*	*Openness*
Prothyron?	1	0	2	1	0	2
Courtyard	2	1	2	2	1	2
Pastas?	3	1	3	3	1	3
Room 7	4	1	1	4	1	1
Room 3	5	1	5	5	1	5
Room 4	6	1	1	6	1	1
Room 5	6	2	1	6	2	1
Room 1	6	1	2	6	1	1
Room 2	6	1	2	6	1	1

Table 3.4. Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values: The House of the Ptolemaic Coins.

houses, one or more small side rooms always signify the most private area of the house.[33]
As a result of the relatively strict division between the more public and the more private areas of the houses, circulation was limited. The central spaces gave mostly way to singular rooms with low openness values and possibilities of moving through two or more rooms in order to move back to a central space can only be witnessed in the House of the Geometric Krater, the House of the Ptolemaic Coins (first building phase only) and the House of the Coroplast (first building phase only). The small modification of

[33] In the House of the Geometric Krater, room 5 or 3a; the House of Agathon, room 1; the House of the Ptolemaic Coins, rooms 4, 5, 1 and 2; the House of the Snakes, room 6; the House of the Tub, rooms 1, 4 and 5.

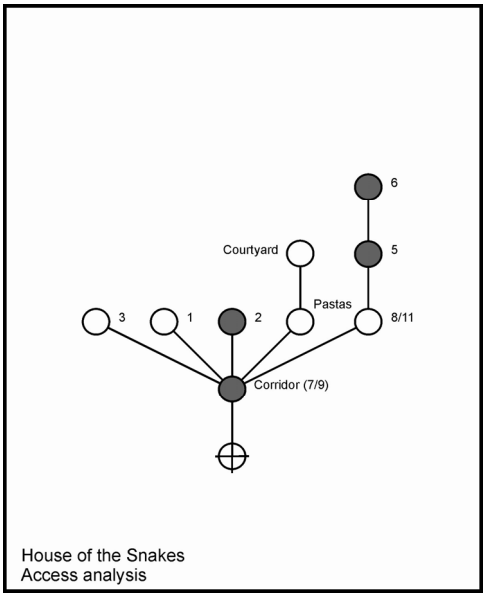


Fig. 3.15. Access analysis: The House of the Snakes.

Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values House of the Snakes			
	1st Building phase		
	Inaccessibility (depth)	*Closedness*	*Openness*
Corridor	1	1	6
Area 3	2	1	1
Room 1	2	1	1
Room 2	2	2	1
Pastas?	2	1	2
Room 8/11	2	1	2
Courtyard	3	1	1
Room 5	3	2	2
Room 6	4	3	1

Table 3.5. Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values: The House of the Snakes.

closing the aperture between room 1 and 2 did not have much impact on the organisation of the house as a whole. This was different in the House of the Coroplast. The access analysis of the second building stage of the House of the Coroplast yielded exceptional results. In this house we see that the courtyard together with areas 2 and 9 represent the areas with the highest openness value and the lowest inaccessibility value. In the first stage it was possible to move directly from the courtyard to room 7, the large room in the living area. This access to room 7 was closed sometime in between 302 and 265 BCE. As we see in Fig. 3.17 and table 3.7, this closing had far reaching consequences for the internal communication within the house.

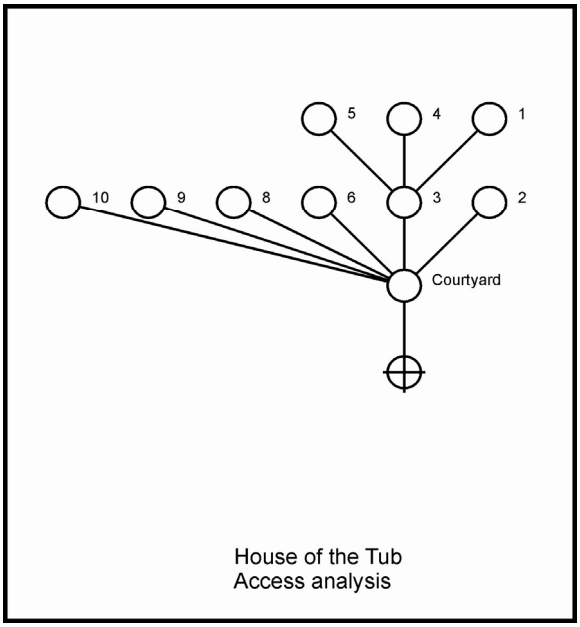
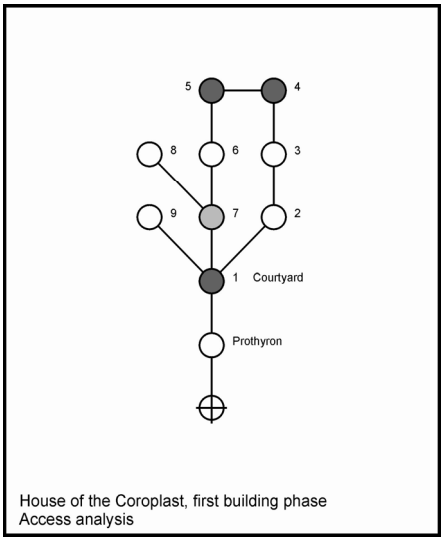


Fig. 3.16. Access analysis: The House of the Tub.

Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values House of the Tub			
	Inaccessibility (depth)	*Closedness*	*Openness*
Courtyard	1	1	7
Room 10	2	1	1
Room 9	2	1	1
Room 8	2	1	1
Room 6	2	1	1
Room 3	2	1	4
Room 2	2	1	1
Room 5	3	1	1
Room 4	3	1	1
Room 1	3	1	1

Table 3.6. Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values: The House of the Tub.



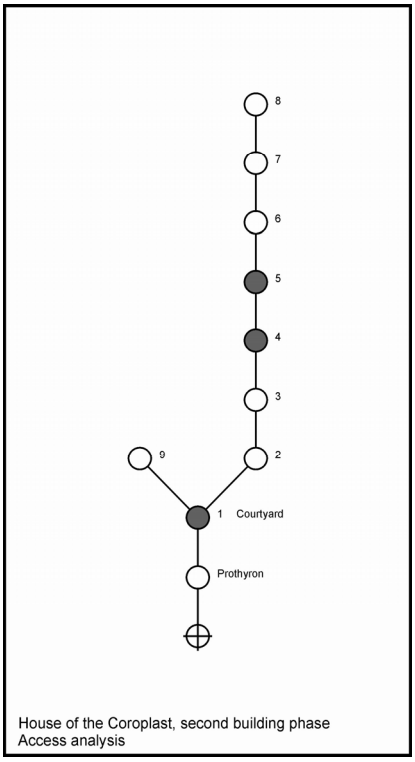


Fig. 3.17. Access analysis: The house of the Coroplast: access analysis first phase and second phase of habitation.

Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values House of the Coroplast						
	1st Building phase			2nd Building phase		
	Inaccessibility (depth)	*Closedness*	*Openness*	*Inaccessibility (depth)*	*Closedness*	*Openness*
Prothyron	1	0	2	1	0	2
Courtyard 1	2	1	4	2	1	3
Courtyard 2	3	1	2	3	1	2
Room 3	4	1	2	4	1	2
Room 4	5	2	2	5	2	2
Room 5	5	3	2	6	3	2
Room 6	4	3	2	7	3	2
Room 7	3	2	3	8	3	2
Room 8	4	2	1	9	3	1
Room 9	3	1	1	3	1	1

Table 3.7. Inaccessibility, closedness and openness values: The House of the Coroplast.

In the first building stage, the arrangement is similar to those of the other houses at Halos: room 4, 5 and 6 represent the area of the house with the highest levels of inaccessibility and closedness, meaning that these rooms represented the most private areas of the house at this stage. Room 7, the large room with the high openness values, represents the private 'roofed central space' giving access to various other spaces, while area 1 corresponds to the courtyard, the 'unroofed central space.' After closing the access to room 7, most rooms in the covered area of the house (rooms 4-8) could only be reached by moving through each of these rooms (see table 3.8) resulting in very high inaccessibility and relatively high closedness values for rooms 7 and 8. The openness of the originally most communicative areas: area 1 and room 7, was reduced by closing this access. This measure divided up the House of the Coroplast in a more public area consisting of the prothyron and rooms 1, 2, 3 and 9 as is clearly indicated by the low closedness values, and a far more pronounced private area, in comparison to the other houses, with rooms 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.
The results of this analysis are preliminary for now. On the basis of an analysis of architecture alone, we cannot explain the particular patterning in the arrangement of rooms in the houses at Halos in comparison to other sites, nor can we clarify the exceptions to this patterning. The room size analysis as well as the access analysis indicate regularity in the layout, access patterns and articulation of the houses. This regularity betrays strong cultural conventions in the planning of the houses. But we see irregularities too and to explain these we need to look further and approach our data from a historical context, because they may have been of influence on the spatial arrangements we have identified. In what circumstances did Halos develop? Who was involved in building the city and the houses and perhaps most importantly, who may have inhabited these houses? These are the topics of our next paragraphs.

3.6 *Contextualizing the establishment of new cities: Cassander, Antigonus the One Eyed, Demetrius Poliorcetes and the foundation of New Halos*

Many of the studies of Greek houses concern urban life in the Classical period. In this period a *polis* was usually an autonomous state, with a body of citizens participating in the political decision making processes as well as in the army.[34] The organisation of the Greek *poleis* in the Hellenistic period was in many respects a continuation of these practices.[35] But Macedonian rule certainly had an impact on the political and social organization of the *polis* as well as on its economic base, the oikos.[36]

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[34] For definitions of the Classical polis, see: Hansen, M.H., "Meaning and Reference of the Word Polis," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation,* ed. M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 39-47.

[35] Shipley 2000, 106-107.

[36] A detailed assessment of the relationship between the Macedonian rulers and the Greek poleis would be beyond the scope of this study, and excellent overviews are provided by Kostas Buraselis (Buraselis, K., *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis : Forschungen zur Politik des Kassandros und der drei ersten Antigoniden (Antigonos Monopthalmos, Demetrios Poliorketes und Antigonos Gonatas) im Agäischen Meer und in Westkleinasien,* Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte; Heft73, (München: C.H. Beck, 1982) and Richard Billows (Billows, R., *Antigonos the one-eyed and the creation of the Hellenistic state*, Berkeley: the University of California Press, 1990; Billows, R., *Kings and colonists : aspects of Macedonian imperialism*, (Leiden: Brill, 1995). Some further studies on the relationships between poleis and Hellenistic monarchs: Getzel Cohen, M., *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands, and Asia Minor*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 24-25. Oliver, G.J., *War, Food and Politics in Early Hellenistic Athens*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

New Halos was a city built under Macedonian influence. Reinders assumes that the city developed as a result of the meeting between archrivals Cassander and Demetrius Poliorcetes during the summer of 302 BCE in the Crocian plain.[37] Cassander, Antigonus the One Eyed and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes were members of the Macedonian elite competing for their share of the territorial inheritance of Alexander the Great. At the time New Halos must have been built, Alexander's empire had already been divided in roughly four sections: large parts of Asia Minor were contested by the Antigonids, Seleucus and Lysimachus, the Ptolemeids had Egypt under control, Cassander was relatively securely settled in the core area of Macedonia in its capitals Aegae and Pella, while, in addition, the Antigonids had managed to obtain support of a number of Greek cities of the Aegean. Between the years 311 and 289 BCE continuous strife between the Antigonids and Cassander, and later between the Antigonids and Lysimachus, Seleucus and Ptolemy dominated the, at this time confusing, political scene in the eastern Mediterranean, with many Greeks cities switching political sides frequently.

The Antigonids employed particular strategies to win the favour of Greek cities. Their treatment of the Greek cities and the consequences for the social and economic situation of both the city dwellers and the kings themselves will be further explored in Chapter 6. For now, we will focus on the policies regarding the establishment, planning, building and support of cities by the Macedonian rulers.

In the years 303-302 BCE, Cassander had lost most of the territory on the Greek mainland south of Thermopylae. Antigonus the One Eyed at this time was in Asia Minor which was mostly under his sphere of influence. He was busy overseeing the building of his own city: Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes, where he planned to organise a great festival as part of its inauguration. Apart from that, he had given specific instructions for the synoikismos of the cities of Lebedos and Teos, which we will discuss below. His son, Demetrius was in Greece and had captured Athens and Corinth.[38] He was engaged in organising the constitution of a new Hellenic League, a re-establishment of a union of, in name, autonomous Greek poleis, with the one created by Philip II in 336 BCE after his victory in the Battle of Chaironea as an example. Cassander, who was settled in the North of Greece in Macedonia and Thessaly strongly felt Demetrius' threat and expected him to move northward and attack Thessaly. He was now in a disadvantageous position and he opened negotiations for peace with Antigonus.[39] But Antigonus refused, probably remembering the betrayal ending a very short lived peace treaty between Antigonus on the one hand and Cassander, Ptolemy and Lysimachus on the other in 311 BCE.[40] Hereupon Cassander asked for support from Lysimachus, who complied. Lysimachus himself certainly did not favour a strong Antigonid stronghold after Demetrius and Antigonus would have taken over Thessaly and Macedonia. Cassander and Lysimachus managed to convince Seleucus and Ptolemy to join them in their alliance against the Antigonids in order to break their growing position of power.[41]

This is the historical context in which Cassander, expecting Demetrius to attack from the south, had taken Pherae and Phthiotic Thebes and had strengthened both cities with garrisons. Demetrius, after having been initiated in Eleusis[42] indeed set sail for Thessaly

[37] Reinders 1988, 169-170.
[38] Billows 1990, 173.
[39] Diodorus Siculus, XX 106, 1-2.
[40] Billows 1990, 173.
[41] Diodorus Siculus, XX 106,5, Plutarch, *Lives, Demetrius Poliorcetes*, 28, 1.
[42] Diodorus Siculus XX 110, 1.

and disembarked at Larisa Cremaste in Achaia Phthiotis. He 'restored the autonomy' of the city and fortified it, imprisoning the Cassander's garrison and putting it under guard and advanced further to the north, taking the coastal cities of Antron and Pteleon on the way. It is not certain where the armies of Demetrius and Cassander met and set up camp, but Phthiotic Thebes, situated on the northern side of the Crocian plain was on the side of Cassander, since Cassander had gathered the inhabitants from the nearby towns Dion and Orchomenos[43] there and had stationed garrisons in both Thebes and Pherae. Demetrius, after having taken Pteleon would have entered the plain from the south. Such armies needed to employ their cavalry and war engines efficiently, and the choice of a relatively flat area as a possible battle ground would have been an obvious one. The Crocian plain would therefore have made, once more, a logical battlefield.[44]
'For many days' two opponents camped opposite each other.[45] But the two armies did not engage into battle because both waited for the outcome of another military encounter expected to happen in Asia Minor. Seleucus, Lysimachus and Ptolemy had started to march on Demetrius' father, Antigonus the One Eyed who was stationed in his new capital Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes. Demetrius left the scene after having received orders from his father to take his army across into Asia as swiftly as possible. Before he did so, he established a garrison in Pherae, since its inhabitants had begged him to replace the garrison stationed there by Cassander and declared the city free. He also came to terms with Cassander and set up an agreement in which was declared that all cities in Greece and Thessaly were to be regarded as free. He then crossed the Aegean with his fleet and disembarked at Ephesos. Diodorus writes that upon the departure of Demetrius Cassander broke his agreement with Demetrius and took once more possession of the Thessalian cities.[46] Cassander sent his brother Pleistarchus to Asia to aid Lysimachus.
Billows interprets this military encounter as a favourable one for Cassander. Demetrius' army consisted of 48.000 heavy infantry (8.000 Macedonians, 15.000 mercenaries and 25.000 Greek allies), 8.000 light infantry and 1.500 cavalry, which outnumbered that of Cassander by far and he failed to capitalize on his advantage because the outcome of this campaign in Thessaly was that the cities he had gained were soon to be lost to Cassander again.[47]
The armies of all parties, except that of Ptolemy, wintered in Asia before the final battle at Ipsus, in central Anatolia, took place. This battle, fought in 301 BCE, was a decisive victory for the alliance of Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemy and Cassander and resulted in Asia Minor being divided up between the four of them. Antigonus had fallen in the battle and Demetrius fled to Ephesus with part of his army to meet the fleet he had left behind. He sailed across the Aegean and found his affairs in Greece in a bad state: the Athenians did not wish to see him back and had sent his wife Deïdameia to Megara.

[43] It is unknown where these two settlements are located. It may be that Cassander commissioned a synoikismos involving these settlements, uniting them with the polis of Phthiotic Thebes as suggested by Diodorus (XX, 110, 3) The town of Dion mentioned here is not the Dion at the foot of Mount Olympus in Macedon. See also Decourt, J.-C., T.H. Nielsen and B. Helly, "Thessalia and adjacent regions," in Hanson and Nielsen 2004, 687-688.
[44] This would not have been the first time that the plain served as a battlefield. In 352 BCE, Philip II of Macedon defeated the Phokians led by Onomarchos here in a battle now known as the Battle of the Crocus field. Even though the battle is named after the Crocian plain where it supposedly took place, the exact location is unknown; Buckler, J., *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century*, (Leiden: Brill 2003), 418.
[45] Diodorus Siculus, XX 110, 5.
[46] Diodorus Siculus, XX 112, 1.
[47] Billows, 1990, 175.

Large parts of Demetrius's troops had defected. After some negotiation, the Athenians gave back the ships that were left behind in Piraeus and for Demetrius a period in his life started in which he was no more than a marauding sea ruler, attacking possessions of his rivals where he could.[48] During the ten years that followed, Demetrius reconciled with his opponents by arranging a number of marriages securing his political ties. His daughter by Phila[49] married Seleucus and he himself took Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy as a new wife. In 297 BCE, Demetrius was once again able to take Athens after a siege. In the following years he further secured his position on the Peloponnese. Upon Cassander's death, Demetrius expanded his influence on the Greek mainland to the north, including Thessaly. And after having done away with Alexandros, the son of Cassander, he was proclaimed King of Macedon in 294 BCE. It was just a few years later, about twelve years after the military encounter with Cassander in the Crocian Plain, that Demetrius started building his new capital Demetrias along the coast of the Pagasitic Gulf, near the town of Pagasae, the former harbour of Pherae.

The polis of Halos had become part of that of Pharsalos around 346 BCE after Parmenion, the general of Philip II, had taken and destroyed the classical city of Halos which has been identified at Magoula Plataniotiki. Reinders assumes it was Demetrius who took the initiative to re-establish the polis of Halos, because the city is located in the southern part of the Crocian Plain, while Cassander had garrisoned Pherae and Phthiotic Thebes in the north. A further supportive argument can be found in the fact that Demetrius and his father Antigonus the One Eyed, are known for their policy of freeing cities as a means of winning the favour of its inhabitants.[50] Finally, a small silver coin hoard, found in the recently excavated south-east city gate of Halos, contains coins of cities which Demetrius and his navy must have visited before he embarked at Larisa Cremaste.[51] A possible problem lies in the subsequent events: for how long was Demetrius able to wield his influence in the establishment of the city? Our sources point out that it cannot have been for long. Upon Demetrius's departure, Cassander took the Thessalian cities again and after the Battle of Ipsus, Demetrius's position on the Greek mainland was lost up until 294 BCE. This means that it is very plausible that Cassander may have been involved in establishing the city. Cassander is known for having constructed and fortified a variety of towns. He is credited to have built the new city of Dion, at the foot of Mount Olympos in Macedon. Interestingly, the city has a very similar layout in comparison to New Halos.[52]

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[48] Plutarch, *Lives, Demetrius Poliorcetes*, 30, 31. Demetrius garrisons had been expelled from various cities. Shortly after the exchange with the Athenians he sailed to the Chersonessos in Thrace, which was Lysimachus territory, and took possession of the city ravaging its territory to enrich his forces.

[49] His first wife and a sister of Cassander.

[50] Billows 1990, 203 (In the case of Antigonus). That 'freedom' is relative and that it had its price is described by Billows in his chapter on the variety of reciprocal strategies of polis and monarchy (Billows 1995, 75).

[51] Reinders et al. 1996, Dickenson, C., L. Radloff and H.R. Reinders, 2006.

[52] Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Th., *Anaskafi Diou, Vol. 1, H Ochirose*, Archaiologika Ergasteria Diou, (Thessaloniki: Aristoteles University Thessaloniki, 1998) Alexander the Great as well as his Diadochs were extremely active in establishing new cities, especially in the newly conquered Persian Empire. But also in Greece new cities are attested by historical and archaeological sources. Cohen, however, calls the evidence for new Hellenistic cities in Greece 'meagre' (Cohen 1995, p. 428), but in his otherwise excellent and exhaustive book, he does not include evidence solely based on archaeological sources. Cities such as New Halos, Goritsa, and Larisa Cremaste do not figure in his work. See also Cohen 1995, p. 22 suggesting that new foundations, such as Kassandreia and Thessalonike resulted from synoikisms which sometimes served to 'repopulate the city with former inhabitants who had scattered or fled.'

This historical context gives us insight in the political circumstances in which the architecture of the city developed. Does the architectural character of the city perhaps give us further clues as to who occupied the newly laid out area away from the old city centre? Let us have a closer look at the military traits of the city and its layout.

3.7 *Military aspects and the relationship between domestic economy and organisation in New Halos*

The military architecture at New Halos and its defensive and offensive qualities has been discussed *in extenso* by Reinders.[53] The preserved visible remains testify to a city which was heavily defended by towers placed every ca 40 m along the wall of both the higher and lower city. The city could be entered by two main city gates of relatively new design[54], one located in the north-western corner of the lower city and one along the southern fortification wall.[55] One other recently excavated gate, right in the south-western corner in between the higher and lower cities, provided access to the higher city from the plain. A gate which is presumed to be situated under the present highway no.1, the lower city's western wall, represented the only connection between the higher and lower city. Several small postern gates have been discovered in the curtain of the lower city's fortification walls. These small gates must have served both a practical purpose and an offensive one. They facilitated the inhabitants to leave and enter the city, probably with animals such as sheep and goats, without having to make a detour through the main city gate, and served as an area from which surprise attacks could be organised in case of a siege.[56] The towers themselves measured each 6.70 m on average in width. They each gave space to four arrow-shooting catapults.[57] The main city gates were all flanked with towers as well.

There are certain defensive traits visible within the area of the lower city as well. The area within the city has been divided up in three avenues running north-south and fourteen streets running east-west with a main street, which is wider, in the centre. This street, labelled the 'Main Avenue' by the excavator widens in between housing blocks 3.8 and 7.1. This 'irregularity' in the city plan and the architectural finds in the area (very large blocks and column drums, see above) may indicate a planned area for an agora.

The limited number of avenues running north-south provides a better control of traffic in between the two city gates, which is an advantage in case of an enemy attack, since incoming troops can be better stopped when the possibilities of movement are few. The avenues are widely spaced and few in number. This results in extraordinarily long housing blocks. Their length is unprecedented with the longest one measuring 220 m. Contemporary sites have housing blocks of different dimensions: a few of Goritsa's housing blocks measure 157 x 32 m at the most. Those of Demetrias measure 100 x 50.5 m, while the blocks of the earlier town of Priene measure 35.30 x 47.05 m.

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[53] Reinders 1988, 51ff.

[54] See note 50.

[55] Both city gates were excavated. The north-west gate had the same occupation span as the city (Reinders 1988, 85-91). The south-east gate proved to be much longer in use. After the city's abandonment the gate was modified into a large structure with several specialised areas, such as a bath, a small courtyard with a well, a storage room with very large storage capacity. This structure, which had several occupation stages, must have been in use until at least the end of the 3rd century BCE (Reinders et al. 1996, Dickenson, C., L. Radloff and H.R. Reinders, 2006).

[56] Winter, F., *Greek Fortifications*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), 239-240. Lawrence, A.W., *Greek Aims in Fortification*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 302.

[57] Reinders 1988, 105

There are no indications in New Halos, for a consistent system of alleys cutting the housing blocks in north-south direction. Only in housing block 3.3, 2.5, 3.6 and 2.7 do we find alleys that run east-west in the length of the block. This also consistently limits the traffic in north-south direction, which, in case of a breach of the wall or one of the gates is a disadvantage for an enemy.
Manoeuvring space for defending troops was provided between the northern and southern fortification walls and the adjacent housing blocks. For instance: the distance between housing block 6.8 and the fortification wall measured ca. 30 m. in width leaving a large area in the north and the south open. Probable attacks could be expected from the north and the south, the direction of the main traffic. There is less distance between the housing blocks and the eastern and western walls. It was unlikely that the city be attacked from the western side since the acropolis and upper fortifications were located there, and on the eastern side, the salt march was located.
The location of the new city also testifies to its defensive character. The city is built on a 1 km narrow strip in between an outspur of the Othris mountains and a salt marsh. The city completely closes off the access to the plain of Almiros. The coastal route was an important one which connected the Thermopylae area with the Tempe Valley. An alternative route was only available at a large distance and ran west of the Othris mountains from Larisa to Lamia via Thaumakoi. The coastal route was of course preferable since transport via sea could provide logistical support.[58] The triangular higher city is located on a hill in the west topped by an acropolis and fortified with a heavy curtain and towers. The terrain outside of the acropolis is steep. Only from the east, inside the fortifications, one can climb up to its highest point with relative ease. The square lower city is heavily fortified, with strongly defensive gates covering the area from the hill to the salt marsh. Building material for the defensive and civilian architecture could be found nearby: the ancient quarries have been located on the higher hill. Fresh water was provided by the Kephalosis spring, just north of the city and cisterns provided the upper city with water.[59]
Now that we have seen that the city's architecture is strongly geared towards defensive purposes we should ask ourselves what relationship existed between the city's military character and the social and economic position of its population. Before we move on to a discussion of these matters we should discuss other examples of city planning and establishments by the Macedonian rulers of the early 3rd century BCE.

3.8 *City Planning in Hellenistic Greece: practices of the diadochoi*

We do not have very specific information about the practicalities of laying out cities in Classical, nor in Hellenistic times. Our written sources are limited. Pausanias' description of the building of Messene gives us the impression that the citizen body built the walls, the public buildings and the houses under the directions of Epaminondas.[60]
Yet, there is some further evidence that may shed light on the extent of involvement of Hellenistic rulers in building cities, both in the form of inscriptions as written sources. Hellenistic rulers issued orders and regulations by letter. These letters were often sent to the councils of poleis and the custom was to engrave these orders in stone and putting them on display in a public space. Especially in Asia Minor quite a few inscriptions

[58] Reinders 1988, 181.
[59] Idem.
[60] Pausanias 4.27, 5 and 6.

reflecting this royal correspondence have been recorded.[61] Two particular inscriptions are of interest to us. One is the inscription found at Colophon which we already mentioned earlier in this chapter. The other one is a stele found on the site of ancient Teos with two engraved letters sent by Antigonus the One Eyed to the residents of the poleis of Teos ordering a synoikismos of Teos with the city of Lebedos.[62] The latter city had been badly damaged by an earthquake in 304/3 BCE. The inscription provides us with a situation very comparable to the one under discussion: it partly concerns the development of a new city; the letter dates from ca 303 BCE, the same period in which New Halos developed; and it is written by the father of the Macedonian ruler who most likely played a major role in the refoundation of Halos. The letter contains information on the way an incoming population was provided with lots and to what regulations they had to comply. The Lebedians, who had to move to the city of Teos, 'were each given lots equal to that which he leaves in Lebedos'. 'Until the new houses are built, houses [are to be furnished to all] the Lebedians without charge' (…) '[All the Lebedians] are to build houses on their lots within three years; otherwise the [lots] are to become city property. [We thought] it right that the roofs of the houses be given to the Lebedians, a quarter of the total number each year for four years, [so that] the houses [may be finished as soon as possible].[63]

In the second letter more information is given on the financing of the construction of the houses. The Lebedians had obviously asked for compensation: (…) 'When we [before studied] how the synoikism might be completed most quickly, we did not see from what source the [necessary] money would come [for you] to be able [to give immediately] to the Lebedians the value of their houses, because the amount available from the revenues comes in over a [rather long] period of time. [When we received] your envoys and those from the Lebedians and asked [them if they had any] expedient to suggest, and they said they had none except taxation, examining [their proposals] we find that your richest citizens only have always advanced property taxes. [It seems good to us then], that your list of rich 'citizens' include six hundred names, that [these men] advance money in proportion to their property so that there may be [for the Lebedians] one-fourth of the compensation available at once, and that repayment be made to these men first after an interval [of a year] from the revenues [of the city], all of them appropriated for this purpose. (…)'.[64]

I concur with Cahill that from these texts one can conclude that it was expected that the incoming population had to build their own houses. This compares well with what we have observed in the architecture of the houses in Halos and to the text concerning the city planning of Colophon: houses seem to have been built separately, while the housing blocks may have been planned and laid out in one go. It is interesting to notice that one of the most expensive parts of the houses in Teos: the roof with baked roof-tiles, were 'given' by the king. This most likely did not mean that the roofs were built by representatives of the king, but that money was provided to pay for them. In practice, the money (one fourth) for this, however, needed to be provided by the richest citizens of Teos. The (tax) revenues of the new city were used to compensate them only after a

[61] Welles, C.B., *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period,* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1966).

[62] This letter is discussed extensively by Cahill (2002, 203f) in relation to the building and layout of the houses at Olynthus.

[63] Welles 1966, 20.

[64] Welles 1966, 24. From this second letter it becomes clear that Antigonus put quite a bit of pressure on the inhabitants of Teos, since its richest citizens had to advance the money for the one-fourth compensation to the Lebedians, only to be paid back later from the tax revenues.

year. From the king's point of view, this measure secured the continuation of financial organisation and taxation of the city and participation therein and loyalty from its citizens, even after the synoikismos.
In practice we have to keep in mind that in certain cases in Halos, such as in the houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and the House of Agathon, the houses shared a common roof. This must have meant that at least some of the inhabitants must have cooperated together in building their houses in order to use their resources efficiently.
From the inscription, it becomes clear that the newcomers were, to a certain extent, also further compensated. Not only did they receive their lots for free, lines 66-72 stipulate that incoming settlers were exempt from sponsoring public events such as religious festivals. This also counts for those Teans who decided to move their houses to a new location nearer to the sea. This new location was obviously preferred by the king, most likely because of its defensive nature.[65] These stimulating regulations are in line with the regular policy of Hellenistic rulers that new settlers were sometimes granted tax-exemption. But its should be kept in mind that after time had lapsed, the inhabitants of many new cities or of other communities which fell victim to urban relocation had to pay taxes.[66] The stimulating measures were not successful regarding the synoikismos of Lebedos and Teos, however. The process was delayed, most likely because the population was unwilling to participate. In 302 BCE Antigonus was faced with the imminent threat of his three opponents ending with his death in 301 BCE in the Battle of Ipsus. The synoikismos was, therefore, never carried out.
Demetrius Poliorcetes seems to have employed a similar policy as his father in the relocation of the Sikyonians in 303 BCE, although he used more force. Plutarch writes rather favourably about how his protagonist convinced the population of Sikyon to move to another location. 'As for the Sikyonians, he told them their city was in the wrong place, and persuaded them to change its site to that which it now has.'[67] Diodorus represents the same event a little differently. He relates to the fact how Demetrius in a surprise attack occupied the area of the city in between the acropolis, where the Ptolemaic garrison was stationed, and the houses. The garrison foresaw Demetrius' use of his siege engines and surrendered in panic on the condition that

[65] This move compares well with the new locations of other cities. An example is Sikyon which Demetrius 'freed' in 303 BCE, see below.
[66] Welles 1966, 29, note 19. Guidi, I., Una descrizione Araba di Antiochia, *Rendiconti Ac.c dei Lincei* VI (1897), 156, on an inscription from Antiochia-on-the-Orontes which indicates that Seleucus I provided money for buildings of new inhabitants and exempted them from taxes. The same counts for the Jewish colonists of Antiochus III as described by Josephus *Ant. Jud*. 12, 3 4. There are many indications that even 'free and autonomous' cities were taxed in antiquity. An example is an inscription found in Mysia with a recorded letter of Eumenes II of Pergamon to the participants in the celebrations dedicated to Apollo Tarseios in which the king wanted explicitly stated in stone that he forfeited taxes on sheep sold as sacrificial animals (Welles 1966, 47). But even when cities were declared tribute free (aphorologetos) and some individuals may have enjoyed tax exemption (ateleia) other costs could add up. Erythrae was a city declared tribute free but its citizens needed to pay for their own city walls (Cohen 1995, 27). Sonja Ziesmann in: Ziesmann, S., *Autonomie und Münzprägung in Griechenland in der Zeit von Philipp II und Alexander des Grossen*, (Trier: Wissenschaftliger Verlag Trier, 2005), 119, relates the coin production of various new settlements to urban building activities. Another inscription dated to 334 BCE comes from Priene (I.1 Priene 1) in which Alexander the Great declares the citizens of Nauloxos, who are originally from Priene, free and autonomous including their land and their houses, like Priene itself. However, a small clausule in the inscription was added declaring that regarding the territories of nearby Myrseloi and Pedieis Alexander himself decides who is going to live in these villages and that those who do have to pay taxes. In: Mileta C., *Der König und sein Land. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaft der hellenistischen Monarchen über das königliche Gebiet Kleinasiens und seine Bevölkerung*. Klio Beiheft, Neue Folge 14 (2008).
[67] Plutarch, *Lives, Demetrius Poliorcetes*, XXV, 2.

they could leave for Egypt. 'After Demetrius had moved the people of Sikyon into their acropolis he destroyed the part of the city adjacent to the harbour, since its site was quite insecure; then after he had assisted the common people of the city in building their houses and had re-established free government for them, he received divine honours from those whom he had benefitted; for they call the city Demetrias, and they voted to celebrate sacrifices and public festivals and also games in honour every year and to grant him the other honours of a founder.' Diodoros continues: 'Time however, whose continuity has been broken by changes of conditions, has invalidated these honours; but the people of Sikyon, having thus obtained a much better location, continue to live there down to our times. For the enclosed area of the acropolis is level and of ample size and it is surrounded on all sides by cliffs difficult to scale, so that on no side can engines of war be brought near; moreover, it has plenty of water by the aid of which they developed rich gardens, so that the king in his design seems to have made excellent provision both for comfort in time of peace and for safety in time of war.'[68] Archaeological research has pointed out that the Hellenistic city of Sikyon can indeed be found in a different place than the Classical one. The newer city is located at some distance from the sea, on a higher plateau to the west of the Classical city which was situated in the plain.[69]

There are important elements in these testimonies that may pertain to the establishment of New Halos. First, just like in the cases of Teos and Sikyon, the location of the city was changed from the original site at the present Magoula Plataniotiki near the sea to a more favourable position from a strategic point of view.[70] In the case of Teos, it is interesting to note that the population was not forced to move, but strongly encouraged by the perspective of financial support. Sikyon was 'freed' by Demetrius by bribery or surprise attack. The relocation of its population was carried out by force, Demetrius destroyed part of the city in order prevent the people to move back[71], but he also provided funds to support people in *building their houses*. This latter aspect is a very similar policy as that of his father Antigonus and is a further support of my suggestion that the Halians built their own houses. Diodoros clearly credits Demetrius for the city's design and location: the feared siege engines could not be used in the area of the acropolis, just like in New Halos. The vicinity of water was of course important for the performance of agriculture: the inhabitants of Sikyon exploited gardens near their water source(s), just as was probably done in Halos.[72]

As for the division of housing plots over the city, we can say but little. Detailed evidence for the precise ways in which housing blocks were subdivided is, for this period, not available. Cahill, assessing possible scenarios for the divisions of housing plots and the allotment of land in the *chora* of Olynthus, discusses an early 4th century

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[68] Diodorus Siculus XX 102, 2.

[69] Griffin, A. G., *Sikyon*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 6ff; Lolos, Y., B. Gourley and D. Stewart, "The Sikyon Survey Project: a Blueprint for Urban Survey?" *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 20, 2 (2007): 267-296.

[70] It is also striking to not that Demetrius seems to have followed a policy of moving communities away from locations near the sea, to places further inland. This may also have been the case with another city in Achaia Phthiotis which Demetrius 'fortified': Larisa Cremaste. The city was known to have had a port, but its Hellenistic remains are found far inland, high above the present village of Pelasgia. Defensive motives must have played a role here, but we should bear in mind that control over ports and sea routes would have been in Demetrius' interests. This issue will be further discussed in chapter 7.

[71] Griffin 1982, 78.

[72] The city of Sikyon was not established for military purposes alone. The sources make clear that it was meant as an urban centre for a large population. In addition, Pausanias tells us that Lamia, Demetrius's mistress, supervised the building of the art gallery (Polemon quoted by Ath. XIII 577C).

BCE inscription found at Korkyra Melaina which records the process of dividing up land amongst new oikists settling down.[73] In the allotment scenario at Korkyra Melaina, housing plots as well as land in the chora could be taken by choice by the early colonists who had fortified the city first. The later colonists could also choose their land in the city and in the country. Extended families, or 'citizens related by origin, profession or other such ties'[74] could therefore choose adjacent plots, or plots near the agora, along the main avenues etc. and Cahill suggests that such an organized rational distribution of land could lie behind the systematic distribution of different sorts of houses seen at Olynthus.

Since we have only seven fully excavated houses of which only three are located adjacent to each other, it is difficult to say whether such a 'democratic' and systematic division of lots was in place at the newly established city of Halos. There are at least two remarkable differences with cities like Korkyra Melaina and Olynthus. The first one is that the different front widths resulting in differences in size of housing plots at Halos seems to suggest an intentional difference in plot size, which may relate to ranking.[75] In addition, the different sized plots appear to be relatively unsystematically distributed over the city: plots of similar size appear to be located near each other, but the division of a north row of the uncommonly long housing blocks does not relate to the division of plots on the southern side.[76]

The only case found in which it appears that similar sized housing plots are connected by size as well as layout of the foundations are the House of the Ptolemaic Coins and the House of Agathon. This does suggest choice; it may well have been that these two plots were chosen by settlers connected by kin or otherwise and decided to build their houses in cooperation. But the different sizes of housing plots may also suggest that a system as indicated on the inscription found at Teos was in place: new settlers would receive a plot of land 'equal to that what [they] left behind.'

Surface area 200-210 m2	*House of the Tub* *House of the Snakes* *House of the Amphorae*	204.21 m2 207. 31 m2 201.22 m2
Surface area 165 m2	*House of the Coroplast*	166.55 m2
Surface area 145-155 m2	*House 10* *House of the Ptolemaic Coins* *House of Agathon* *House of the Geometric Krater*	154.6 m2 154.72 m2 147.27 m2 155.6 m2

Table 3.8. Houses and plot size at New Halos.

[73] Cahill 2002, 216-221. This inscription is also discussed by Maier (1958, 204-206) and Graham, A.J., *Colony and mother city in ancient Greece*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1983), 42-43 and 64-65.
[74] Cahill 2002, 221.
[75] cf. Reinders 1988, 112 commenting on the different front widths of the houses.
[76] cf Reinders 1988, Fig. 70, p. 113.

We do not know if and how the new establishment of the city included the division of rural land. The division of rural land was an inseparable part of the foundation of new colonies in the Archaic and Classical periods, but this re-foundation of a Classical city formerly occupied by a neighbouring polis at the initiative of a Hellenistic general may have employed a different set of rules. The Teos inscription does not mention compensation of rural land for the incoming Lebedians although the future usage of land in the chora of the new location of Teos for the cultivation of grain is implied in the first letter, which also suggests that if the city needed to import grain, they could buy it off the nearby crown land.[77] We may assume that the new settlers at Halos were at least allowed the use of land, for agriculture, horticulture or to be used as pasture and we will come back to land use in the *chora* of Halos in our final chapter

3.9 *Early Hellenistic poleis and their population*

We have now read about the historical and political contexts in which cities like New Halos developed and were built. The Hellenistic rulers were active in providing (financial) support in building activities in new cities, be it to limited extent, as long as it meant that the citizens' body stood on their side when faced with a challenge of an enemy diadoch.[78] Strong defendable cities were a necessity in this period of strife. The adopted policy of the Antigonids of declaring a city 'free' and 'autonomous' should also be seen in this light: it was a means of winning the favour of the common population and the elite of a polis. We should, however, not overestimate the individual power of the Macedonian protagonists. Their control over the cities was not one-sided but depended heavily on the loyalty of a polis and its citizens in the framework of a mutually beneficial relationship. This relationship needed to be maintained and that is where the problems for the diadochoi lay and what made their positions vulnerable. Poleis and its inhabitants could exploit the relationship with the rulers as Billows has rightly pointed out, and poleis frequently switched sides under the influence of political pressure or bribery of individual citizens by the hands of competing diadochoi.[79]

The control of a large area involved frequent travelling for the diadochoi. How to maintain favourable relationships with individual poleis over a large distance? To station a garrison in a city was a custom in order to maintain this control, but it was not a popular one.[80] Many sources suggest that the presence of garrisons within cities led to tension between the foreign soldiers and the population. Antigonus held himself to the philosophy that cities would be more loyal to him in case no garrison was stationed within their walls. But Demetrius, Cassander and subsequent rulers made it their regular policy to station garrisons in whatever city they occupied.[81] Oftentimes they would be able to capture a city and free it by bribing the garrison and hire them as mercenaries in their own armies. Numbers became important for maintaining military and political control and involved the possibility to employ people to serve in garrisoned cities as

[77] Welles 1934, 19. Letter 3, 73. In the inscription, Antigonus is explicit creating the impression not to make profit of it.

[78] Also Demetrius' rival Cassander is well known for his establishments or refoundations of cities. Cassander founded Kassandreia, a replacement of the former city of Potidaea in Chalkidiki. He refounded Thebes (after its destruction by Philip II) and he likely founded Dion at the foot of Mount Olympus.

[79] Billows 1990, 231ff; 1995, 56ff. This dialectic, which serves partly as a framework for the interpretation of the results of this research, will be further discussed in the concluding chapter.

[80] Chaniotis 2005, 88.

[81] Buraselis 1982, 88; Billows 1995, 73.

well as dispatching them.[82] This heavy reliance on people to work in the army must have had an effect on the population diversity in Hellenistic cities and we may assume that New Halos was, at least for part of its existence, inhabited by a garrison who controlled the north-south route along the coast, perhaps with the help of a civilian army.[83]

Garrisons consisted of Macedonians as well as mercenaries from elsewhere in the Greek world.[84] Before the Macedonian rule, Greek cities relied on their own armies and on treaties with other poleis. In all poleis, participation in the army was an important aspect of one's role as a citizen and successful performance in battle was honoured by public displays in the form of inscriptions, dedications and commemorations. In the Hellenistic period serving in the civilian army remained an important part of social and political life of the Hellenistic polis, although the role of the civilian armies varied from region to region.[85] It is known that the fortresses of the northern Thessalian poleis of Mopsion, Gonnoi and Atrax were manned by civilian troops. We also know that the larger cities of Stratonikeia and Smyrna were divided up in wards, the so-called amphoda. Each of these wards was responsible for defending a particular section of the wall. This is but an example of the many specific tasks of the civilian population of a Hellenistic city and were part of a civilian's duty in the socio-political context of *his polis.* The existence of private clubs linked to these responsibilities emphasizes their cohesive character and testifies to the notion that citizenship, residence, religion and defence of a city were all connected.[86] In short, there is ample evidence for the existence of civilian armies in other poleis and based on the military character of the city, I assume that part of the citizens of the polis of Halos participated in the defence of their own city, perhaps alongside a stationed garrison.

It is not archaeologically attested where soldiers lived in cities. The civilian soldiers were, of course, part of the oikoi of the polis and they must have lived in the houses in the lower city. Most sources indicate that garrisons were often located on the acropoleis of cities, but others mention that foreign troops had their barracks in the countryside (hypaithroi).[87] Not much more is known about their housing conditions. One of the clearer pictures painted by archaeology is the excavation of a Ptolemaic army camp

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[82] The numbers of soldiers in the service of the Hellenistic rulers varied considerably. Diodorus reports that in 302 BCE Cassander had '29.000 foot soldiers and 2.000 horsemen, not less than 8.000 Macedonian foot soldiers, mercenaries to the number of 15.000, 25.000 from the cities throughout Greece and at least 8.000 of the light armed troops and of the freebooters of all sorts such as gather where there is fighting and plundering…' (Diodorus Siculus XX, 110, 4)

[83] The difference between a garrison soldier and a citizen was in the 3rd century BCE, still well marked. Only in the later Hellenistic period do we have indications that garrison soldiers were sometimes given citizenship: Chaniotis 2005, 24: '(…) in the late 2nd century BCE the Pergamenes awarded citizenship to the free population of their territory, which included garrison troops and military settlers, the justification was 'for the sake of common security'.

[84] Chaniotis 2005, 88ff. Thessalians were employed as mercenaries by a variety of Hellenistic rulers as is indicated in papyri and on various inscriptions, especially in the early Hellenistic period (Launey, M., *Recherches sur les Armées Hellénistiques*, (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1949), 212ff).

[85] Chaniotis 2005, 23ff, 214ff. Chaniotis has pointed out that the Hellenistic kings encouraged the existing military 'honour' culture amongst the citizens. The practice of public displays to celebrate the success of the individual warriors became even more pronounced during this time and there are many examples of commemorative items exemplifying this. It may be telling that in Halos no finds have been found to attest to this practice, but nearby at Tsournati Vrisi, part of the presumed *chora* of Halos, an inscription has been found celebrating the success of three officers of the Thessalian league. The inscription does thus, not date to the period of the urban centre, but from ca 100 years later (IG XII, 103,104)

[86] Chaniotis 2005, 23.

[87] Chaniotis 2005, 89.

established on the peninsula of Koroni in Attica during the Chremonidean War (265-261 BCE). The soldiers occupying this camp lived in hastily, irregularly built barracks in an area on top of a rocky peninsula surrounded by a fortification wall.[88] This is perhaps not a very adequate comparison, since the occupation span of the camp was short, but it is one of the better examples of housing of soldiers. It is also known that garrison soldiers settled down in the cities they were guarding: they married native women and set up a more domestic life style.[89] In Halos we have found no barracks, but there is a possibility that these were located in the higher city or outside the city wall. Perhaps the strong division that we witness in New Halos, with the city divided in a clear settlement in the lower area and a higher fortified upper city represents a division of the inhabitants: citizens and garrison soldiers.

We cannot merely assume that the socio-economic relationships between the inhabitants of Hellenistic poleis, such as New Halos were similar to those of the Classical *poleis*. The involvement of Macedonian rule had strongly changed the socio-political and economic dynamics within Greek cities.[90] But to what effects? Now that we have assessed the historical sources on some possible social roles of the inhabitants of New Halos we need to explore other pathways of studying the dynamic relationships amongst the inhabitants on the one hand and between the population and the Hellenistic rulers on the other. In this research, which focuses on housing, we are looking for cultural expressions of these relationships in the domestic environment. In our study of the architecture, we have already seen that the inhabitants of Halos did not employ their domestic architecture as a means to express 'distinction'. The access analysis, the room size analysis and the absence of architectural embellishment all point to houses which are similar in layout, and in spatial patterning, with the exception of the internal organization of the House of the Coroplast's second building phase. If there is one 'distinction' to name, it is house size.

In the preceding paragraphs I have concluded that the people of Halos built their own houses, and that they did not use fixed plans. Despite the lack of fixed plans, the similarities, however, make clear that the inhabitants shared strong cultural conventions with regard to the planning of their domestic space. Locations of house plots appear to have been chosen freely by the incoming population and at least some of them preferred to build their houses together, sharing a common roof, and live in a neighbourhood perhaps connected by kinship. The similarities in house design also suggest a certain social homogeneity, and perhaps solidarity, of the overall population inhabiting these houses. The only variation we see is that of house size. If it were indeed the case that new settlers would receive a house plot equal the size they left behind, then house size may be a factor in some form of economic ranking. Would the differences in house size relate to differences in wealth? Or would it simply point to a larger number of household members and to different stages in the household's life cycle? Did the population simply lack the means to express any other form of distinction in their domestic environment? Is our evidence varied enough to answer these questions?

Additional forms of analysis will allow us to look beyond the physical confinement of the architecture, which has been our focal point up until now. In order to further explore

[88] Vanderpool et al. 1963, 332.

[89] Chaniotis, A., "Foreign soldiers-native girls? Constructing and crossing boundaries in Hellenistic Cities with foreign garrisons," in *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 37, ed. A. Chaniotis and P. Ducrey, (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2002), 99-113.

[90] See for instance Liddel, P.P., *Civic Obligation and Individual Liberty in Ancient Athens*, Oxford, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) and Oliver 2007.

the dynamics in using and creating space we need to look at the spaces themselves and the activities performed there. We therefore need to move to another research strategy in domestic archaeology: the study of domestic artefacts and their distribution. What variations will be able to see in this respect? This will be our focus in the next two chapters.